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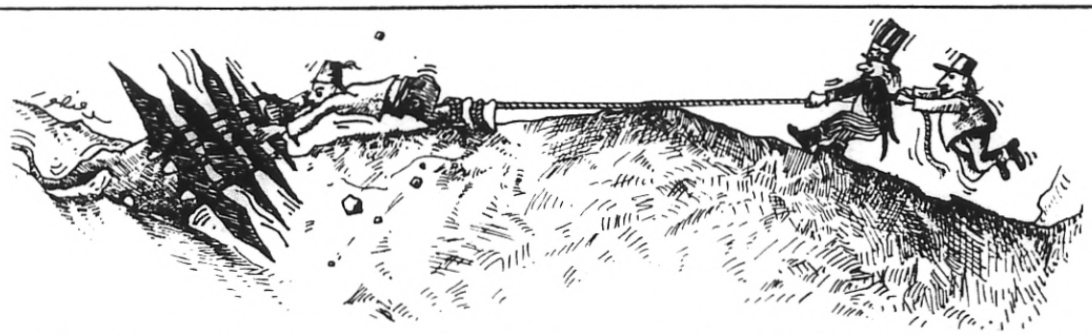
**TO OUR READERS:**

**In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise [illegible] .5, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.**



## CIVIL WAR ISRAELS' LEGACY TO SHOUF

The withdrawal of Ismeli forces to Lebanon's Awali river, September 3, left in its wake armed clashes on several fronts as rival Lebanese factions sought to replace the Israeli presence in the Shouf mountains.

Serious clashes were reported along the two main fronts in Beirut and in the Shouf mountains between right wing Phalangist forces and their Lebanese army allies against the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party, the Lebanese Communist Party and the Murada fighters of former President Suleiman Franjieh. The battles involved multinational peace-keeping forces and kept Beirut neighbourhoods on guard against heavy shelling.

Sources of the Lebanese PSP now claim, after a week of fighting, that the largst part of the Shouf region is under the control of the Labanese national resistance forces. The government-run radio reported, September 8, that the Lebanese army entered Souq al-Gharb, a strategic mountain town, and that the city is under their full control.

According to Lebanese police reports, at least 300 were killed and 600 were injured in the week-long battles in the mountains and Beirut. Eleven French and American soldiers in the units of the multinational forces were killed.

As France and the US were drawn into the battles alongside Gemayel's troops, US Secretary of Defence Casper Weinberger threatened Syria with "direct confrontation with the American forces in Lebanon." The US is accusing Syria of deploying alongside progressive forces. The French Minister of Defence Charles Herneau threatened that Lebanese national resistance forces' artillery batteries would be destroyed if the bombardment of his men near the airport continued.

After overflights by US and French fighters, the US naval forces entered the fray off Beirut, September 8, firing five shells at the bases of the national militias in the Aramoun hills.

Walid Jumblatt, after meeting with the US envoy to the Middle East Robert McFarlane, announced, September 7, his readiness to accept any new political initiative if the conditions of the National Salvation Front to meet a national reconciliation were met. Jumblatt added a demand for the resignation of Major Tannous, head of the Lebanese army, for his responsibility in the massacre of 44 people in the village of Kufr Matta.

On the military level, the national Lebanese resistance forces captured Bhamdoun, September 7. The town, a strategic link with Aley, had been held by Phalangist militias. Bhamdoun straddles the Beirut-Damascus highway. After the fall the resistance started military efforts to control the Souq al-Gharb region, 13 kilometres southwest of Beirut.

*(for a day-by-day account, see page 2)*

## Geneva conference calls for PLO, multinational meet

In its tenth and final session, September 7, the UN Conference on the Question of Palestine held in Geneva called for the convening of an international peace conference for solving the conflict in the Middle East, in which the PLO would participate on the same level as other countries. In their final statement, the conference adopted a political statement entitled the "Geneva Statement" containing six principles which would be the basis for the proposed international conference. In addition, the conference sponsored an executive recommendation which urges the UN General Assembly to designate one year for Palestine which would be devoted to mobilising international public opinion in order to implement the Geneva statement.

In his speech to the conference September 2, PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat called for convening an international conference under the supervision of the UN. Arafat supported any conference or any peace initiative based on the recognition of the Palestinian rights. The six resolutions which were drawn up by a sub-committee of 26 countries were:

"1) The Palestinian people have full right to demonstrate their inalienable rights, including the right to return to their homeland, to self-determination and to establish an independent state in Palestine.

"2) The right of the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, to be an equal partner in efforts, discussions, or conferences relating to the Middle East.

"3) The urgency of putting an end to the Israeli occupation of Arab land, in accordance with the principle of the illegitimacy of seizing land by force, and the necessity of the Israeli withdrawal from the territories it has been occupying since 1967, including Jerusalem.

"4) The necessity to confront Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, especially practices which contradict international law and UN General Assembly resolutions, such as illegal building of settlements.

"5) To declare null and void all judicial and administrative steps which aim at, or actually change, the character of the holy city of Jerusalem. To refute land confiscations, and the confiscation of other properties and to recognise that the "law" which designates Jerusalem as the capitol of Israel is null and void.

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PALESTINIANS THREATENED IN UPPER NAZARETH

## Harassment linked to election campaign

Three unidentified Israeli settlers broke into the house of Nur ed-Din Zaitawi in Upper Nazareth (Nazaret Elit), September 2, and threatened the family to leave town. *Al Ittihad* Israeli Communist Party daily, the widely respected news source on 1948 Palestine which reported the incident, charged that police had ignored the incident and failed to investigate it.

According to the report, which cited a story in *HaAretz*, the three men entered the house shortly after Nur ed-Din left the place accompanying visitors. The intruders reportedly told Nur ed-Din's wife and children that they must leave the predominantly Jewish city or else they would be harmed.

The family contacted the police, who arrived half an hour after the intruders left the city dwelling. *Al Ittihad* reported that the police officer in charge did not take the trouble to report the incident to his superiors.

On the following day, the Nazareth police district issued an unusual statement denying that anything serious had taken place. The statement admitted only that three men had entered the Zaitawi house in order to tell the family that their children were bothering elderly Jewish residents. The statement went on to say that the intruders told the woman: "If you do not stop your children, we will find a way to throw you out of here."

According to the newspaper, nearly 2500 Palestinian residents have sought housing in the town, which had been intended exclusively for Jews. Most have experienced constant harassment, but measures have increased considerably during the last month. Political activists in Nazareth believe that the rise in

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# Druze solidarity strengthens

Over 1000 Druze officers and soldiers in the Israeli regular and reserve army signed a memorandum sent to Israeli Minister of Defence Moshe Arens and Chief of Staff David Levy, September 6, outlining their intention to join the Druze fighters in the Shouf region in Lebanon. They also decided to donate blood to their Lebanese Druze comrades who are fighting Phalangists and the Lebanese army in the Shouf.

Representatives of the Druze community met at the home of Skeikh Amin Tarif in Julis village. A special Druze envoy from South Lebanon who attended the meeting carried a letter from the Druze Sheikh in Hasbayya in South Lebanon, in which he called on the Druze in Israel to carry out their duty towards their brothers in Lebanon.

The Lebanese Minister of Finance Adel Hamieh, a Druze, submitted his resignation to Lebanon's President Amin Gemayel, after a meeting of Druze chieftans in Lebanon in which a representative of Walid Jumblatt attended. (Translation: Al Mithaq, September 7).

# Syria demands boycott of Lebanon government

Syria demanded, September 4, that Arab League members stop all political, economic, cultural and military dealings with Lebanon, cut formal political and diplomatic relations and close borders with the country. In a memorandum distributed to league members, the Syrian government made the call for the boycott to protest the Gemayel government's agreement to "transform Lebanon into an Israeli protectorate." Syria also demanded that the Israeli-Lebanese agreement be put on the agenda of the 13th Arab Summit Conference and that Lebanon's membership in the 22-state body be suspended.

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# Civil war

## September 3-4

On the first day of the renewed civil war, PSP fighters launched attacks against Phalangist forces in the mountain regions east of Beirut, in an attempt to link the mountains with the southern area of the capitol.

Druze leader Walid Jumblatt, the head of the Progressive Socialist Party, said, September 4, that fighting had erupted on all fronts as 500 Lebanese army soldiers began moving into the mountains, replacing Israeli occupation troops. PSP sources reported that the Lebanese army used French-made rockets in bombarding the Druze village regions.

Israeli planes entered the action by bombarding a convoy of tanks heading towards Bhamdoun. It was unclear whose tanks were hit.

A statement issued by the PSP warned the Lebanese army not to enter the Shouf without reaching a national reconciliation. Ex-president Suleiman Franjeih, ex-premier Rashid Karameh, and Jumblatt, who lead the Lebanese National Salvation Front, submitted their conditions for national reconciliation: the cancellation of the May 17 Israeli-Lebanese agreement, the dissolution of all private militias, a stop to the practice of using the army for solving internal problems, and a stop to propaganda campaigns.

Several Palestinian factions issued statements of support for the National Lebanese resistance. Bassam Abu Sharif, PFLP spokesman, accused the US of planning a strike against the Lebanese National movement and the PLO and described the Israeli redeployment as a farce. "What is happening in Lebanon is the central link to the American conspiracy chain in the region," he said.

At the same time, Moshe Arens, the Israeli minister of defence, warned the PLO and Syria not to attempt returning to the Shouf area and threatened to adopt "necessary procedures" if they try to do so.

## September 5

After several clashes in Khalde, south of Beirut, the Lebanese army overtook the strategic position and then made their way to the Druze-Christian village of Kufr Matta. Progressive sources accuse the Lebanese army and Phalangists of massacring 44 residents of the village in their sweep through. The same source said that Phalangist troops gathered women, children and elderly in the village square and opened fire on them. The dead included Druze Sheikh Ghareeb al-Masoud and all members of his family.

The Lebanese government reported that their army also occupied Shuaifat, and Aramoun, and the roads leading to Damour and Naa'meh. Lebanese army sources said that 3 of their soldiers were killed and 44 injured in battles during the day.

In the mountains fighting was heaviest in Bhamdoun, where the Lebanese army launched its sixth attack, in Aley, Kahhaleh and Souq al-Gharb. The military spokesman for the PSP reported that the national forces annihilated Phalangist centres in the major mountain town. Military observers reported that the PSP's control of a large part of Bhamdoun, which overlooks the Damascus-Beirut highway, shows a radical change in the balance between the right wing forces and the national forces in the mountain region.

The Lebanese national forces continued slow progress towards Souq al-Gharb and took command of the hills overlooking the town. They did not attempt to seize the town.

Phalangist sources accused Syria of supporting the Lebanese national movement by shelling the southern region of Beirut. The US multinational unit stationed around Beirut airport was hit and three US soldiers were wounded. The Marines returned the fire.

Shells hit randomly in several parts of Beirut from the Upper Metn. Israeli planes made several reconnaissance flights over Beirut, the nearby mountains and the north.

Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad), Fatah central committee member, convened a series of meetings, September 5, with members of the Palestinian leadership to discuss the present situation in Lebanon. They issued decisions supporting the Lebanese National Resistance, Lebanese National Salvation Front and Amal movement. Abu Jihad also reiterated the PLO's rejection of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement.

The eastern side of Beirut, Kisrawan, Daabda palace, and the western side of Beirut airport were bombarded intensely.

The Lebanese army reported that 82 soldiers were killed and 216 were injured in battles since the beginning of the mountain war.

## September 6

Battles along the Beirut-Damascus road pushed Lebanese army forces to make a tactical withdrawal from Bhamdoun to Kahhale.

National forces attempted to infiltrate from Shuaifat to the Salam quarter south of Khalde. The battles were also reported in the Babdeen, Deir al-Qammar and historic Beit ed-Din.

American multinational units in southern Beirut were bombarded heavily from Burj al-Barajneh until 8:00 am, and two US soldiers were killed. Six Marines were injured in battles around Khalde the previous two days, and the Americans used heavy artillery to bombard the national forces' positions in Beirut.

## Druze Victory

The Lebanese Progressive Socialist fighters attained an important victory over Phalangist forces in the mountain in which they succeeded in linking Bhamdoun and Aley. Druze fighters attacked the few remaining footholds of the rightist militia. Lebanese sources said that 216 people were killed and 561 were injured in the three days of battles.

A communique of the PSP said their forces were in control of Bhamdoun, Taloun, Rouaisset al-Naamane, Kahhale, Bkhechtay, Mansouriya, Ain Jdaideh and Tkshnai, the last three regions forming a triangle controlling the road to Aley. The progressive party urged residents in the mountain to maintain calm. The progressive fighters demanded that Phalange militias, still in pockets in Bhamdoun, surrender. According to PSP sources, many mercenaries fought along with the Phalangists. Large weapons caches were uncovered as well as a large number of armoured military vehicles.

The Lebanese army took possession of a large part of the Khalde triangle, along the sea south of Beirut, but National Resistance fighters were still active in the region and controlled strategic Armoun hills. Phalange military positions were bombarded from the Shuaifat region.

Lebanese national forces surrounded Souq al-Gharb, where Phalange forces and a Lebanese army military unit were stationed, and carefully searched the regions around the village.

## Beirut Front

The eastern quarters of Beirut were bombarded. Artillery shells rained down on Ain Rumaneh, Jisr al-Basha, Sin al-Fil and Furn al-Chubak. Rightist artillery bombarded Palestinian concentrations in Chtoura, near the Beqa'a.

Israeli military experts said that Druze forces controlled all roads leading to Beirut and had linked their semi-isolated region with Aley and the military bases in the Metn, north of Bhamdoun.

## September 7

Heavy battles between the national militias and the Phalangists concentrated in Souq al-Gharb, 13 kilometres southeast of Beirut. Military observers say that the Phalangist-held town is the second goal of the national Lebanese resistance forces after the capture of Bhamdoun. PSP sources said that fighters made advances along the Ain Aitat-Souq al-Gharb front and destroyed a rightist military base in a large battle on the outskirts of town.

Lebanese official sources reported that two US F-14s made reconnaissance flights over Beirut and the mountain at 4:30 pm. The planes flew from the US aircraft carrier *Eisenhower*, part of the American sixth fleet.

Both west and east Beirut were hard hit by shells in several quarters including Ashrafiya, Corniche al-Mazra', Bir Hassan, Burj al-Barajneh, Cite-Sportif, Ras al-Nabah, and Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

More fighting was reported in Khalde, as the Lebanese army attempted to control the Khalde triangle and the coastal region south of Beirut. News agency correspondents reported that the army made a sea landing in Khalde and another one along the Na'ameh-Damour road. The Lebanese army attempted to move into the hills of Aramoun, overlooking the triangle, but were stopped by the nationalist militias. The units retreated and attempted to advance in another area, but the Lebanese forces were repelled again.

Fierce battles were reported in the Aley region accompanied by artillery barrages. Clashes were also reported east of Barouk. PSP fighters succeeded in linking forces in the Upper Metn with fighters in Qabr Chamoun and strengthened their control over the Bhamdoun-Aley road.

A car-bomb loaded with 200 kilogrammes of explosive materials blasted the National Lebanese headquarters, near the Mourabitun movement offices in West Beirut, killing 10 and injuring 20. Ibrahim Qlailat, head of the Mourabitun, blamed the Phalangist forces for the attack.

The French government announced in Paris that a colonel and his drivers were killed and two soldiers injured when the military headquarters of the French multinational forces unit in Beirut was bombarded, September 7. Another four French soldiers were injured in previous days in Ashrafiya. After the bombardment, French warplanes responded by making reconnaissance flights over Beirut. French Defence Minister Charles Herneau said in an interview that France will continue patrol flights over Beirut. Herneau warned that the artillery batteries that bombarded the French units would be eliminated. He did not name the sources of the fire. *Agence France Presse* reported that the Phalangists lost 350 persons in the fighting around Bhamdoun.

*continued from page 1*

# Nazareth

harassment measures is linked to the municipal council election campaign now underway. Nazeer Mjalli, an editor of *Al Ittihad*, said that the two parties competing for the council seat are exploiting racist issues to draw more support. For instance, he said, the Likud candidate is attacking the present mayor, Arieh Ariav, because he sold an Upper Nazareth house to Arabs.

Palestinian residents were gerrymandered into the town in 1975, after the Israeli interior ministry annexed the land of an Arab neighbourhood housing 300 families, which previously belonged to Nazareth and the village of Raineh, to the Jewish development town. During the year that followed, 200 more Palestinian families, mostly young couples, moved into the Jewish town because of lack of new housing in Nazareth. Mjalli explained that the city has no land for expansion, nor are the authorities planning for the needs of the city

Upper Nazareth is one of 25 Jewish development towns classified as top priority for government aid. The city, which according to official figures has 18,000 Israelis, was built in 1965 on land seized from surrounding Palestinian towns and villages. Nazareth itself lost one half of its land, more than 7500 dunums. The rest of the land on which the city-settlement is built was taken from Ain Mahel and Raineh, whose farmers now work as labourers in Israeli factories.

*continued from page 1*

# Conference

'6) The right of all states in the region to live within secure and internationally recognised boundaries, and the right of all people to justice and peace. This necessitates the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to their inalienable rights and to demonstrate these rights as stated in the first paragraph."

The final statement gave further explanation of the resolutions, implying that the international conference should be attended equally by all parties to the Middle East conflict, including the PLO, the USA, the Soviet Union, and all other concerned parties. The statement specifies that the conference should be held under the direct supervision of the UN and that the UN Security Council should approve security guarantees to all states in the region to live in peace within internationally recognised boundaries, including the independent Palestinian state.

# CURFEW FOLLOWS HEBRON BLAST, SETTLERS MOVE IN

The Daboyya building area in the heart of Hebron, occupied by Israeli settlers since spring 1980, was curfewed September 3 after a home-made bomb exploded in the building courtyard at 8:00 pm. Military sources said that nobody was hurt and that there was no damage, only a small hole in the ground. *The Jerusalem Post* September 5 reported the bomb to be a beer can containing explosive material and surrounded by match heads.

After the explosion, units of Israeli soldiers combed the market area and prevented passers-by and vehicles from crossing into the area. The following day, armed settlers wearing military uniforms walked through near-empty Hebron streets. Half of the commercial shop market remained closed.

Badran Jaber, an ex-prisoner who has been under town arrest for the last two years, told *Al Fajr* that the residents of Hebron expect that the settlers might use the incident for revenge similar to the July massacre at Hebron University. Jaber described Hebron as an "economic waste land." Legal sources in Hebron affirmed that the economic stagnation and hike in prices strike heavily at residents. Recent Military Order No. 1060, transferring land confiscation decisions from civil courts to military courts, and Order No. 1015, restricting agriculture, particularly aggravated the crisis for Palestinian residents.

From tents to pre-fabs – Settlers attempt to consolidate their hold over the central bus station in Hebron. /JN

The Israeli military authorities have replaced the makeshift tents, pitched in the central bus depot of the city, with prefabricated housing units.

Reports said that the military has also taken over the offices and stores that had been used by the Hebron Bus Company.

Meanwhile, demolition squads continue to pull down the old Daboyya building to make way for a multi-storey Israeli settlement housing block.

A three-storey building near Ibrahimi Mosque was forcibly evacuated of its Palestinian residents and demolished last week.

# COURT UPHOLDS DETENTION OF FRENCHMAN

Israeli district court in Tel Aviv upheld, September 4, the detention of a French national accused of giving information five years ago about Israeli sites to the PLO, until his trial date. The case goes before the court on September 18.

Henri Eichholtzer, 26, was arrested on arrival at Tel Aviv airport, July 10, on charges of taking photographs and investigating security arrangements at the Shalom Tower in Tel Aviv during a 1978 trip to Israel, and passing the information to the PLO.

According to the official charge sheet, made public for the first time after the court hearing, Eichholtzer was recruited to work for the PLO during a visit to Algeria in 1977. Later on, he received "training" in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, the charge sheet states. Eichholtzer was also accused of assisting a "PLO man" named Shafiq during his trip to Israel in 1978. The prosecution also charged that the Frenchman had passed photos of the Tel Aviv high-rise building to Shafiq "with the knowledge that the photos were to be used to blow up the building," according to *The Jerusalem Post*.

Israeli information about the alleged operation, which never took place, was obtained, say the authorities, from the invasion of Lebanon.

Eichholtzer is a teacher in Mulhouse, his home town. News of his detention was kept secret until last week, when the family of the Frenchman contacted the French consulate in Tel Aviv to inquire about him.

# Rioting Gaza prisoners injured

Israeli soldiers shot and injured several prisoners in lock-up at the Gaza city police station, September 3, while forcibly quelling 'disturbances.' According to the Israeli News Agency (Itim), the riot started after prisoners pushed a prisoner suspected of collaborating with the prison authorities out of a second-storey window.

According to the Hebrew daily *Davar*, September 4, 42 prisoners who were being held at the police station took part in the protest. The prisoners, the paper said, refused to allow prison guards to carry out a routine search and pushed the guards out of the room. It was during this time that prisoners threw the suspected collaborator out of the window. Minutes later, the prison authorities sent in a large police force which used tear gas and live bullets to stop the protesters.

*Yediot Aharanot* later reported that the prisoner, who was seriously wounded, survived the immediate danger period. The paper made no mention of the condition of prisoners who were shot by the guards. (Translation)

# Dudeen resigns as military support for Leagues dwindles

Mustafa Dudeen, a former Jordanian minister, founder of the Israeli-backed Village Leagues in Hebron in 1978, and its current federation chairman, submitted his resignation, September 4. Jamil Khatib, his deputy for financial affairs and former league head in the Ramallah area, also announced his resignation, in solidarity with his boss. Dudeen claimed the recent lack of financial support for the leagues from the Israeli government was the major reason for his resignation. The Israeli military authorities have noticeably backed off their full-fledged support of the leagues, regarded by even the Israeli press as political misfits. Khatib, son of the assassinated former Ramallah league man, Yusef Khatib, said he was not ready to work without Dudeen. The 65-year-old Dudeen claimed that his failing health is another factor in not continuing at his post.

Israeli sources said that the Village Leagues are beset by internal conflicts and are at odds with the Israeli 'civil administration'. Israeli authorities reduced the size of the leagues after Moshe Arens succeeded Ariel Sharon as minister of defence in early 1983.

Several months ago, Mohammed Nasser, the head of the Village League in Hebron, was fired from his position after he attempted to launch a political party.

*Al Mira'a*, the organ of the leagues, threatened to close down two weeks ago for 'financial reasons', but according to Bethlehem league head and heir apparent, Bishara Qumsieh, in an interview with the Israeli-run Arabic daily *Al Anba'*, the paper was promised funds and will continue.

Dudeen had drafted a political covenant as unifying principles for a party last month and was waiting for official Israeli approval. At the same time, it was reported that Dudeen applied to the US East Jerusalem Consulate for an immigration visa.

# ARAB LAND DEALER MURDERED

NABLUS — A 23-year-old resident of Rujib, east of Nablus, was shot to death, September 2.

A group had raided Mohammed Jamil's house and shot him, after breaking windows and ransacking it.

Reports said Jamil had been involved in land sale deals in the area and had helped Israeli settlers buy several plots of Arab land.

The Israeli military authorities set up roadblocks in the area and launched a widescale combing operation covering two Arab villages, Deir al-Hatab and Samir Salem, near the Israeli settlement of Elon Moreh.

Reports said the region had witnessed several land sale deals recently involving Arab middlemen, many of whom had received death threats. In the past two years, several Arabs who were engaged in real estate transactions with the Israelis have been the target of assassination attempts, the responsibility for which was claimed by the PLO.

Reports said a group of people had raided Mohammed Jamil's house, and shot him down, after breaking windows and ransacking it.

Four villagers were later arrested by police. Reports said the men were involved in a court case with Jamil.

# Chambers of Commerce air economic grievances

The Union of Chambers of Commerce in the West Bank held its regular meeting at the Hebron branch, September 2, for discussions of pressing economic issues. Chambers of Commerce heads took a number of decisions aimed at easing the still escalating crises.

The problem of tax collection headed the agenda. The latest agreement between the CoCs and the Israeli authorities sets income tax advance payments at 50 percent of the taxes paid during the previous year. Shopowners can pay in five installments.

The CoCs also agreed to file joint objections to a recent regulation which only permits legal building on 15 percent of any plot of land.

More mundanely, the subject of the widespread pubic complaint at sky-rocketing meat prices was debated. It was reported that the price of a kilogramme of goat meat had risen by more than one-third in the past month. It has gone up from IS450 in July to IS700 in late August. The business leaders blame the rise on restrictions on meat imports. They said butchers report they are obliged to purchase meat from Ismeli suppliers. Ibrahim Far, head of the Ramallah area Chamber of Commerce, said that this issue had been distressing too many people, especially poor families. "Meat prices in the West Bank are probably the highest in the world," he said.

In the meeting's final recommendations, which were sent to the Israelis, the CoCs demanded the authorities grant import permits to West Bank butchers to ease price hikes and bring meat within the budgets of common people.

On other issues, they also demanded that Arab employees be appointed in the tax department, in order to make communication between merchants and collectors easier.

They decided to send a delegation to Jordan to discuss the latest Jordanian measures which prevent *tawjihi* (matriculation certificate) graduates from seeking education in Jordan or other Arab countries. Ibrahim Far said the delegation expects to travel this month.

# Workers turned back

Israeli border police turned back thousands of Palestinian workers, September 7, who were on their way to jobs inside Israel, on the pretext that they did not possess valid work permits from Israeli labour offices. Well-informed sources estimated that 70 percent of the work force in Israeli factories and other similar wage-labour work places were turned back. Many of the workers also had their ID cards confiscated.

Al Hakawati

is coming to Jerusalem after three months of tour in the country with

*Ali the Galilean*

13, 14, 15 September, 1983
7:00 pm
(playground of Ibrahimiyyeh College)

IN GAZA

# SCHOOL TRANSFERS SPARK PROTEST

Classes were disrupted in Fa:iyeh Secondary School in Jabaliya camp, the Gaza Strip, on the first day of school, September 1, as students protested the authorities' decision to transfer 400 students to another school, six kilometres away.

During the protest, many of the 400 students sat in the school yard and refused to go to Beit Hanoun agricultural school where they are scheduled to study. Education officials who came to school to arrange the transfer of secondary school and *tawjihi* (matriculation) classes to Beit Hanoun were unable to convince students to attend classes.

According to some students, the officials told them that they wanted to solve the problem of overcrowdedness. They announced that they are cancelling evening classes.

Students believe that the transfer is aimed at dispersing them to make protest activities more vulnerable to Israeli soldiers. They argued that there is no public transportation from Jabaliya camp to Beit Hanoun, and that they would have to walk the entire distance. "Instead," one spokesman suggested, "they could have added a couple of rooms to the school and solved the problem."

Students charge that the military governor of Gaza has repeatedly warned them that he was "going to exile them in remote schools, in order to punish them for demonstrating."

Gaza residents reported a noticeable increase in the number of military patrols in the streets since the start of school on September 1. Sources said that military patrols are "deliberately harassing people" by carrying out body searches and ID card checks.

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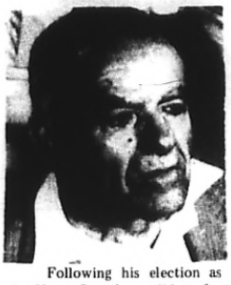
# Ex-Stern Gang head Heruts' choice for PM



Following his election as the Herut Party's candidate for the Israeli premiership, September 2, Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir spent the week trying to juggle the demands of various parties of the ruling Likud coalition, to shore up support for a new government.

Demands for policy changes by various coalition groups, which compelled Prime Minister Menachem Begin to postpone submitting his resignation to the Israeli president, led to skepticism about Shamir's ability to hold the coalition together.

Immediately after he was elected to the party leadership, Shamir held urgent meetings with the present coalition partners and obtained their signatures on an undertaking to stay in the coalition, in exchange for satisfying each party's demand. As of September 7, when inter-coalition talks were suspended until after the Hebrew calendar New Year, next week, the balance was still leaning in Shamir's favour.

Factional disputes started after the election of Shamir by the Herut Party central committee to lead the party and be its candidate to the premiership. He beat deputy prime minister and housing minister David Levy 436:302 in the vote.

Shamir, 68, who immigrated from Poland in 1935, achieved notoriety as leader of the Lehi branch of the Irgun Zvai Leumi terrorist group after it split in 1943. Shamir was head of the Mossad's European operations before entering the Knesset in the early '70s. He is described by many as a copy of Begin. He has a hawkish stand on most issues.

His Lehi organisation achieved international notoriety after it assassinated UN intermediary Count Bernadotte in 1948 as he was working to impelement resolutions on the partition of Palestine.

# Soldiers stage sit-in to protest sentences

A group of soldiers started an open sit-in, September 4, in front of the Israeli prime minister's house in Jerusalem to protest the escalation of punishment against soldiers who refuse service in Lebanon for reasons of conscience. Placards carried by the protesters demanded the release of jailed soldiers and a halt in punishing soldiers for refusing to go to Lebanon.

Lev Greenberg, a Jerusalem spokesman of *Yesh Gvul* (There Is a Limit) movement of reservists against the war, told *Al Fajr* that Israeli authorities are recalling soldiers to join their military units on the same day they are released from prison.

One month ago, Israeli soldier Robert Bangveil was sentenced a second time by a military court in Tel Aviv. He had just completed a 21-day sentence when he was given another 35 days in prison. The *Yesh Gvul* spokesman said that Israeli authorities newly issued a decision to repeat sentences for soldiers who refuse military duty in Lebanon.

Since the beginning of the invasion of Lebanon in 1982, at least 95 soldiers and officers, mostly reservists, have served sentences ranging from two to five weeks. *Yesh Gvul* estimates that there are twice that number in prison who acted on their own and do not belong to the movement.

# RAFAH SHOPOWNERS DEMAND COMPENSATION

Eight shopowners in Rafah notified Mayor Abd al-Hamid Qashtah, September 5, that they will take legal action against him within 10 days unless he agrees to compensate them for their demolished stores. The eight small shops were demolished on the mayor's orders last August 5.

According to shopowners, the Israeli-appointed mayor acted on an individual basis when he ordered the demolition of the shops nearly three weeks ago. A civilian-driven bulldozer, guarded by soldiers, bulldozed the shops around noon when all their owners were at the mosque for Friday prayer. The owners were not notified beforehand, nor were they given opportunity to save their stock.

Faraj Sarraf, lawyer for the shopowners, said that his inquiries with members of the municipal council indicated that there was no council decision to demolish the buildings. His inquiries also showed that neither did military authorities order the demolitions. Nevertheless, military authorities sent Israeli soldiers to guard the bulldozer at the site.

Rafah shopowners also complain that they were not given priority to rent new municipal-built shops. One resident-shopowner, the only one to receive an eviction notice from the municipality, said that he received the notification only after all the municipality-owned stores were rented out.

In their letter to the mayor, shopowners demanded compensation for the buildings and the goods buried under the rubble, or else they would go to court.

# SHAMIR'S SUCCESSION LEGAL?

HAIFA — Knesset Member Tawfiq Toubi said the Democratic Front faction in the Knesset has grounds to believe it can take Begin and Shamir to court on charges of having violated Articles 6 and 9 of the Government Law. He noted that by delaying the formal submission of his resignation letter, Begin had obstructed the president in carrying out his constitutional duties.

Toubi added that Shamir's attempts to form a new government without having been duly commissioned to do so by the president is in contravention of Article 6. He also noted that moves by heads of coalition factions to submit a petition to the president asking him to entrust Shamir with the formation of a new government is in contravention of Article 9.

# TWO SETTLEMENTS SLATED FOR WEST BANK

The joint Israeli government-Jewish Agency settlement committee approved, September 4, the establishment of two new settlements in the occupied West Bank. The two settlements are Ganim B, which is to be built in the Jenin area, and Otneil, which is planned for the southern Hebron hills. They will both house Gush Emunim ultra-right wing activists as a settler-nucleus. Matityahu Drobless, chairman of the Jewish Agency settlement department, told reporters that 12 Gush Emunim families will be the first group to settle in Otneil next month. The settlement is planned to be a full-fledged city, with more than 200 families, the Israeli official said. Ganim B settlement will be designed for 300 housing units.

The joint committee responsible for studying and approving the proposed settlements also agreed on the establishment of two lookout stations in the Wadi Arabeh area in the Naqab. It also gave a nod to Amana, settlement arm of Gush Emunim, to establish a kibbutz in the lower Galilee, which would be called Mitzpe Nekofa, overlooking the Netufa valley.

**THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP**

**Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 175, September 9, 1983:**

**Number of original articles submitted to censor. . . . . 23**
**Number of articles totally censored out . . . . . 5**
**Number of articles mutilated beyond use . . . . . 1**
**Number of articles partially censored but used . . . . . 3**
**Number of articles passed . . . . . 14**

SETTLEMENT ROUND-UP

## Helicopters to Emmanuel, massacre suspect released

AUGUST 31

### SETTLEMENTS BY AIR

JERUSALEM — Emmanuel settlement will soon inaugurate the first regular helicopter service between two Israeli towns or cities. Reports said the government has decided to introduce the new service to and from the settlement in order to forge stronger links between Emmanuel and the rest of the country. It will mainly be used to shuttle business people and tourists between Emmanuel and Lydda or Kalandia airports.

SEPTEMBER 2

### MASSACRE SUSPECT RELEASED

JERUSALEM — A 20-year-old Israeli, suspected of having been involved in the Hebron University massacre, has been released by the police. Police said the youth, a resident of the Jewish quarter of Hebron, was released due to insufficient evidence against him.

SEPTEMBER 4

### WEAPON GIVE-AWAY

JERUSALEM — Israeli settlers routinely obtain army-issue weapons without having to sign any receipts or documents, the Jerusalem Court of Appeals has been told. Police witnesses said the practice led the settlers to move weapons from one settlement to another without registering the transfer on official documents or reporting it officially.

The prosecution was demanding that an Israeli suspect, Ronen Cohen, be further remanded, pending the completion of police investigations, but the court refused to grant the prosecution's demand and ordered him released.

Cohen had been accused of participating in the attack on the Islamic University of Hebron.

SEPTEMBER 5

### TREES MURDERED

NABLUS — Unidentified vandals have uprooted more than 100 olive trees belonging to two Arab villages near the Israeli settlement of Elon Moreh.

Residents said that the trees, which were all in bloom, had been planted on land belonging to the two villages of Yasouf and Iskaka.

SEPTEMBER 5

### INDUSTRY

HEBRON — Kiryat Arba settlers launched a campaign to interest investors in plans to establish an electronic plant in the settlement.

The plant would produce calculators and other electronic and scientific gear and would provide settlers with local jobs, ending their need to commute to Jerusalem for employment.

Only 400 of a total of 1000 families in Kiryat Arba are engaged in local services. The rest have found jobs outside the enclave.

Israeli reports said a religious group in the settlement had proposed setting up a brewery to produce alcoholic beverages for export.

The Dawn
AL FAJR
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# When Will War Stop?

Fierce battles in the Shouf mountains in Lebanon have been going on for the last week. The attack by the Lebanese government army and the "Kataeb" (Phalangist) forces backed by the multinational forces against the nationalist Lebanese grew fiercer when Israel finished the withdrawal of its army to the Awali River. It seems that the Kataeb and their regime are playing their last hand knowing that they are fully backed by the US, Israel and the Arab reactionary regime.

The Phalangists started their aggression against the progressive people of Lebanon in earnest in 1975. Their aim was to dominate the country despite the growing nationalist feelings and the impossibility of continuing the imperialist sectarian division of the Lebanese people. They received help and support from Arab countries. This help ranged from silence and ignoring calls by the people's nationalist leaders to physical support by army and arms. Yet they lost.

Then came the United States and its many-forked diplomacy – with Philip Habib shuttling through and around the Middle East – but still it failed to implement its policy.

The Israeli army then moved. Israel, under the pretext of wanting to push the Palestinians out of Lebanon, invaded the country, went into its capital, Beirut, and were sticks controlling their Kataeb puppets into power.

But after more than one year of continuous war, Israel was obliged to retreat – now from parts of Lebanon and later from all of Lebanon. The losses that Israel suffered while assuming its Interpol role in Lebanon were far beyond its expectations.

However, as soon as Israel left the area, Lebanese nationalist resumed their struggle against foreign and minority domination. The PLO fighting forces are out of Lebanon now and yet the conflict continues.

Does the world believe that the problem was ever the Palestinian presence?

Does the world understand that when there is no justice there is only fascist suppression or all-out war? Only when the rightful demands are fulfilled will the war in Lebanon stop once and for all.

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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**President Reagan said his September 1 initiative aims to employ Arab regimes in the American government's efforts to stop Soviet influence from spreading in the region . . . For Hussein, the initiative means a "de facto" recognition of Amman's claim to sovereignty over the West Bank.**

# Scrambling For Pieces

by Sami Aboudi

One year after US President Ronald Reagan made his "peace" initiative, the Jordanian monarch, the biggest beneficiary of the initiative, is still holding out hope of its being implemented.

The American and Jordanian governments saw fresh hope in two recent developments; the internal fighting within Fatah movement, the largest component of the PLO, and the increasing prospects of a Labour-led government in Israel, following the resignation of Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who was the first to reject the Reagan scheme.

Among the many questions which arise at this stage, one asks what interest does the US and Jordan have in carrying out this initiative, which is intended to deal with a Palestinian and Israeli affair?

To answer this question, one must analyse the proposals outlined in the initiative itself.

First of all, the US president made it clear that his government is working to ensure the stability of the situation in the Middle East. In his September 1 speech, which outlined his initiative, the US president said his plan aims at two goals: first, to ensure the flow of oil from the Arab states to the US and Western Europe, and second, to employ Arab regimes in the American government's efforts to stop Soviet influence from spreading to the region. For this reason, the Reagan administration is giving top priority to its joint military exercises with Egyptian, Sudanese, Somalian and Omani troops on a regular basis.

To Jordan, the initiative means a *de facto* recognition of Amman's claim of sovereignty over the occupied West Bank. The carefully drafted plan, which was drawn up after consultations with a number of Arab governments, replaces the notion of establishing an independent Palestinian state with an autonomy scheme. This autonomy does not differ from what the Israeli prime minister had proposed except for the fact that the autonomy in this case is under Jordanian sovereignty. The US president outlined that the autonomy would be granted in exchange for a number of concessions from Jordan. Among these concessions are "border adjustments to insure Israeli security," undetermined (but undivided) status of Jerusalem and "security arrangements." None of the three notions were defined in the plan, however, but no one expects security arrangements in Israel to be less than what they obtained from Lebanon. They are likely to be even harsher, in order to kill any possibility of turning over the occupied territories, once Israel withdraws, to the PLO.

President Reagan, in his outline of the initiative, mentioned that the war in Lebanon had provided a good opportunity to come out with an acceptable solution to the Middle East crisis. His speech, which came on the day the PLO completed withdrawal from Beirut, clearly refers to an alleged defeat by the PLO, which would force it to accept what it had earlier rejected. . . . . .

After the Reagan plan was abandoned for some time, after the break-off of talks several months ago, Jordan and the US renewed their commitment to the scheme, as the only mechanism at hand to solve the conflict. For this purpose, government-run media organs have been trying to push the internal strife within Fatah to a point of no-return. At the same time, the Jordanian monarch is trying to direct the "final blow" to the PLO by voicing hints of his government's intentions to replace the PLO, should the organisation show signs of division. The political balloons are clearly aimed at testing popular and governmental reactions to such a decisive step.

On another more practical level, Arab reactionary regimes have been coordinating efforts in order to convene an Arab summit for the purposes of cornering the PLO into one of two choices, either to accept the Reagan plan or to withdraw recognition of its representation of the Palestinian people. This alternative is more likely, should the Palestinian organisation show signs of rift from the general moderate Arab line.

Unless progressive Arab states and the PLO join hands for the nearing political battle, next month's summit is likely to kill the achievements of more than 18 years of struggle.

# OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles, and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

*Not only a smile. . .*

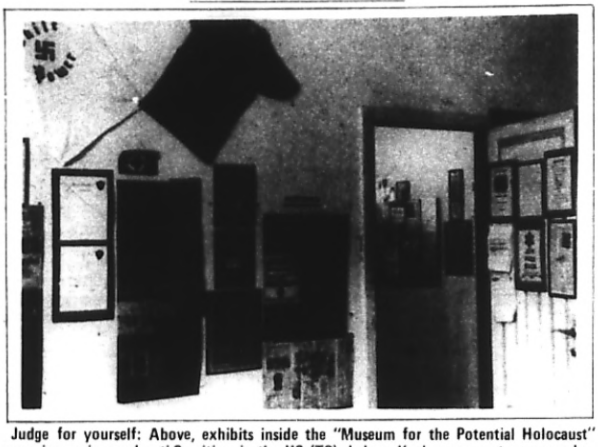
## *THE "CHOSEN" RACISTS: Inside the Museum of the Potential Holocaust*

by Thoma Shick

It was a positive surprise for me to visit the Museum of the Potential Holocaust in West Jerusalem, established and maintaind by the notorious Kach organisation, the Israeli follow-up of the US Jewish Defence League, led by Meir Kahane. It was positive because the collection of printed material and devices on display there is very important in itself, notwithstanding the rhetoric and record-like explanation given by the compulsory guide on the "organised tour" of the "museum".

The collection shows the activities, claims, slogans, philosophies and devices of the neo-Nazi and other "Christian" racist groups in the US. The mere warning of their existence is definitely a positive act for which Rabbi Kahane and his aids should be blessed. These people claim, by the way, that the Israeli government doesn't support them, because they "frighten people." The material easily proves that racism is directed against a number of minorities in American society: blacks, homosexuals, Jews and others. These groups have discriminatory and oppressive views about sex and relations between the sexes, etc. Indeed, the global society should pay attention to these phenomena and avoid their spread by educating for the opposite, for equality and against prejudice and discrimination.

However, this is not the intent of the organisers of the Museum of the Potential Holocaust. They concentrate only on Jews; they interpret everything as intended mainly or merely against the Jews. "Whites hate blacks, blacks hate whites, and both hate Jews," explains the guide, Barbara, who welcomed us formally at the entrance, after she collected 70 shekels for admittance. She didn't speak Hebrew and insisted that the tour is only in English. She said many people come, but asked me to wait 10 minutes until more did. Two young girls arrived a bit later, and the tour began.



Judge for yourself: Above, exhibits inside the "Museum for the Potential Holocaust" exposing racism and anti-Semitism in the US (TS); below, Kach movement propaganda distributed at the exit of the "museum", calling for the expulsion of Palestinians from this land.

IT IS TIME ZEEERO!
THE ARABS OF ISRAEL:
Time Bomb Waiting to Explode
(Zionist Emergency Exile Evacuation Rescue Organization)
Despite all illusions and delusions, the Arabs of Israel are strangers in a Jewish, Zionist State. They hate Israel and look forward to its elimination in favor of a "Palestine." Their incredibly high birth rate threatens Israel as surely as any war. Join with us in calling for a Knesset law and government — JEWS TO ISRAEL, ARABS TO THEIR OWN LANDS.
The removal of the Arabs of Eretz Yisrael will save the Jewish State

Barbara spoke very American English, her terminology, approach and intention concentrated on convincing American Jews. Her 45-minute sermon ended with a call to immigrate to Israel. "There is no future but a dangerous one for Jews in America. Save yourself, kids..." Just as all the Kahane-Kach material preaches.

Not a single word about neo-Nazism in West Germany, or elsewhere in Europe. Nothing about the dangers to humanity from neo-Nazism. On the contrary, there was emphasis that the Arabs are a part of the world attempt on the life of Jews, stressing "Nazi-Palestinian" cooperation. The guide complained that even in this country, the true Jews, like Kahane and his followers, are persecuted and assaulted, and that there were some attempts to burn the "museum".

I think it should not be burned. On the contrary, the leaflets that are given out free by the guide at the end of the tour should be presented in one of the rooms of the "museum" as well, in order to complete the picture, and show the danger in full. Noting only the titles and subtitles of the various publications of the US American neo-Nazis, and the Israeli-American Kachists — I found more than a little resemblance.

I knew even before this visit of mine that there are people who live according to double standards. However, to such a degree this phenomenon is hard to observe openly. Maybe everybody should visit this place run by sick people, in order to understand exactly what is going on in this country. Because it is a self-centred "eternal, collective paranoia", that leads to the ideology and practice taking place here.

Just as the difference in principles and activities between the Labour and the Likud is a matter of size and range, temper and style, the difference between them and the Kach movement is only a matter of dimension. The Kach people take themselves more seriously and are less aware of the illness, while the others still pretend to be "normal", though "chosen"; "secular", though "religious".

Anti-semitism is an historical and in certain places of the world a present fact. This fact is condemned by all reasonable and honest people and should be fought against in a very sophisticated way, because it attacks a self-invented "enemy" and mocks and slanders this "enemy" by generalisation. It cannot be fought by its own means, just as it cannot be fought against alone. It is a result of environmental and social circumstances and conditions. It is not enough to treat the sick; the surroundings must be treated as well.

Dialogue and mercy are the keys for the cure of this hate-filled situation. But how will the patient be brought to the discussion chair?

*. . .With a smile*
*—Thoma*

## *MILITARY BRAVADO NOT THE ANSWER*

To the editor:

by Mitchell Kamen

**How can Israel most likely attain peace and security? If she freezes the settlements and challenges authentic and responsible Palestinians to establish their own government in the conquered territories, the ball will be in their court. Some may reject the offer, but it seems probable that the majority would choose their own state, or other entity, by treaty bound with Israel in peaceful coexistence. The burden of the brutalising occupation would be ended, and anyway, Israel would be retaining its powerful military option.**

No amount of military bravado vis-a-vis the various Arab powers can free us from the responsibility of finding a just political solution for West Bank and Gaza Palestinians, and for those who are still refugees. Muscle-bound in Lebanon, Israel watches its sons picked off, one at a time. If in despair of finding a political solution the PLO splits, the most likely outcome will be anarchistic or Khomeini style terrorism, on an unpredented scale.

The supermachismo of Israel's Likud government is a strange disorder, a kind of neurotic overcompensation for generations of impotence in the Diaspora. If we Jews are never again to be history's sacrificial lamb, does it logically follow that we must always be superwolf?

How can the nightmare of Lebanon, with 19,000 Lebanese and Palestinians killed and over 500 Israelis dead, be a legitimate response to "the Arabs' denial of Jewish rights?" Whose rights are being denied, when thousands of civilians are murdered and maimed? War for a civilised nation is justified only by the lack of a reasonable alternative. **Israel's problems will never be resolved in Lebanon. She must eventually choose either a) to absorb as full citizens the nearly 2,000,000 West Bank, Gaza and Israel Palestinians, b) expel them from "greater Israel," or c) acknowledge their natural right to associate themselves peacefully with whatever form of government they wish. Today many of the Arab states seem ready to recognise Israel if the Palestinian hurdle is cleared. The only alternative to territorial compromise in the Mideast is the tragedy of perpetual warfare.**

And with American and Soviet troops settling in, no one can predict how great a conflagration some stray spark may ignite.

## FILLING THE VOID IN DOCUMENTATION

by Awad Abdel Fattah

The work of the Jerusalem-based *Markaz Dirasaat al-Arabiya* (Arab Studies Centre) has mushroomed into a number of various sections since its foundation in 1979. A recent field survey on Palestinian life in the occupied territories, carried out by the centre with the aid of 150 students, took the centre's name to almost every West Bank resident.

The centre, located in Musrara, outside Damascus gate, in a heavy stone house, was first planned as a publishing firm. But the founders decided that a research centre was of more immediate need to the community when they discovered a lack of basic reference works and documentation on the local Palestinian situation.

In the spring of 1979, a group of nationalist Palestinian intellectuals met and exchanged their ideas for a social and political publishing centre. The founding committee included Faysal Husseini, who served at first as director and currently is in charge of the public relations department; lawyer and former journalist Ishaq al-Budeiri, secretary; and Fuad al-Aref, treasurer. The founding committee members were increased to eight due to the development of the centre.

The first section given considerable attention by the centre's administrative body was a press archives. It is the largest and most comprehensive in the West Bank. The archives include cuttings from the daily Palestinian and some Israeli newspapers, and is subdivided chronologically into Palestinian, Arab, Israeli and international news. "We have arranged the files," said Ishaq Budeiri, the current director of the centre, "to give easy access to information." An index was published for this purpose two years ago in book form and a new expanded version is scheduled for publication.

Faysal Husseini told *Al Fajr* that they have acquired a large number of historical, economic and political documents of the Palestinian people. The centre has issued a bibliography on the Palestinian documents and a second one, Faysal said, is being compiled.

Complementing the press clippings and documents library is a photo archives of Palestinian villages and sites in the Israeli towns and settlements.

An important and novel area of endeavor is the collection of statistics about the West Bank and Gaza. A survey of university and high school graduates is now underway. The survey will gather information about the number of graduates, their place of residence and the capability of the national institutions to absorb or employ them. Faysal believes that this survey will help universities and colleges plan curriculum needs as well as aid graduates.

Arab Studies Centre, Jerusalem /JN

### The Library

A library project is still in its beginning stages. "The library," said Faysal, "is trying to obtain every book about Palestine, whatever the subject and whoever the writer, as well as books on the Middle East and various other historical and philosophical books which can be helpful to any study made by the centre." However, the library is slow-growing because of the shortage of funds.

### Research Section

Among the research projects currently on the boards are studies on: Palestinian ex-prisoners (a study on their economical, political and social conditions before and after detention), peace movements in Israel, the Gush Emunim movement, autonomy rule, a comparative study on the eastern (Jordanian) and the western (Palestinian) sides of the Jordan rift regarding the topographic and agricultural changes since 1967, and the names of Palestinian sites and villages. A 320-page book on Palestinian villages, with 70 colour plates, is the most ambitious project so far.

The centre has already issued more than 20 publications dealing with the Palestinian cause, a legal study in the West Bank, Palestinian culture and more.

Several books have been translated and published by the translation section from English and Hebrew to Arabic. Among these are: *The Demographic*

*continued on page 13*

## AL SHIRA' MAGAZINE
## A CRITICAL VOICE FOR PALESTINE

by Awad Abdel Fattah

On August 16, the five-year-old *Al Shira'* magazine, a Palestinian fortnightly, was ordered closed by the Israeli authorities. The step is unprecedented. The closure order, based on the British-drafted Emergency (Defence) Regulations, (condemned by Israeli Prime Minister Begin before 1948 as 'Nazi'), has killed perhaps the most distinctive magazine in the occupied territories.

The other Palestinian newspapers declared a one-day strike to protest the arbitrary step, calling it a danger to the very existence of the Palestinian press.

*Al Shira'* was founded in 1978 by veteran journalist Marwan Assali, who died three years later of cancer. At the outset, Assali acted as manager and editor, and even wrote most of the articles. From time to time he would take work from contributors, but his character and style were firmly stamped on all editions.

After his death, his two brothers, Walid and Issam, took over direct responsibility for the magazine, and its character changed. They took on part-time journalists to help them over their inexperience, and the magazine improved. Over the past two years, the magazine has become radically different. One new reader — editors say circulation doubled during that period — described it as "the most radical newspaper in the West Bank and even in the whole of Palestine."

According to Issam Assali, *Al Shira'* had the largest distribution of all Palestinian magazines. However, he refused to disclose figures, for reasons he did not want to reveal.

*Al Fajr* surveyed editors and readers to get opinions on what distinguished *Al Shira'* from competitors.

Like other Palestinian papers, *Al Shira'* was strong on social, cultural and political development in the occupied territories. It was also known for its analytical articles and comment on the general Palestinian and Arab situations.

One innovation, introduced when the magazine became bi-weekly five months ago, was a special column on Palestinian women's issues.

Explaining the policy of the magazine, editor-in-chief Mohammed Abu Libdeh said: "*Al Shira'* is a national magazine which has reflected the national attitude of the Palestinian masses in total clarity." He added that the magazine's policy was to "let every national voice express itself." He remarked that even critical articles against the magazine were published without reservation.

Over the issues, columns were devoted to statements, visits and other public activity of representatives of all of the political factions in the PLO.

But what put *Al Shira'* in a class of its own was its leftist line and comment on current political developments. This involved it in openly criticising deviations from or acts against the Palestinian national consensus. *Al Shira'* was uncompromising in attacking traditional leaders meeting with the 'civil administration' and those who cooperate with the Jordanian regime.

"Our magazine's correspondents," Abu Libdeh explained, "revealed several anti-national acts by traditional leaders and followed events inside institutions and exposed corruption."

In one famous case involving investigation into new construction at al-Najah University, in Nablus, *Al Shira'* revealed embezzlement by building contractors.

There was also another column under the name of "*Hams al-Balad*" (the whispers of the people), a sort of political gossip column. Problems, perhaps involving a school director, teacher, husband, newspaper owner or editor, etc, were raised cynically and anonymously. "Our magazine," said Abu Libdeh, "did not only write about problems, it gave solutions."

Theoretical articles and different modes of thought on subjects connected with the struggle of the oppressed people were also frequently published.

Abu Libdeh said the magazine maintained good relations with nationalist newspapers in the occupied territories. Commenting on the allegations of the Israeli authorities that the magazine was extreme ist and affiliated with an extreme faction of the PLO, Abu Libdeh said: "Our magazine is independent and is not subordinate to anyone. It is objective in handling any subject." He brought up an example — the split in Fatah — to refute the Israeli allegations. He explained that unlike most newspapers in the occupied territories, *Al Shira'* reported the views of all the parties involved and called for unity and a solution to the problem within the ranks of the PLO.

Regarding the closure, the entire staff and other journalists close to the magazine expressed surprise. "We submitted every item to censorship," said Issam Assali. He added that they had received no warnings.

Staffers said they had a suspicion that the Israeli authorities were looking for a reason to take a measure against them. Abu Libdeh said that about two months before the order was issued, the censors insisted on getting copies of all material read to them over the phone so they could double-check that no articles were published without censorship. "The closure is a preliminary step for intensifying a campaign against the Palestinian national press," said Abu Libdeh.

Although there was general condemnation among Palestinians of the withdrawal of *Al Shira'*s licence, there are differenct evaluations of its policy. Some saw it as ultra-leftist and others as a sincere national newspaper. "When the authorities see a newspaper which crystalises the true national Palestinian identity succeed, they attack," said Faysal Husseini, the head of the public relations department in the Arab Studies Centre.

A journalist from the Palestine Press Service in Jerusalem told *Al Fajr*: "I am very sad at the closure of *Al Shira'*. It had a clear political national line." He also said it was sharply critical of national deviation.

From the other side, a Jerusalem doctor said: "Sometimes *Al Shira'* took an ultra-leftist attitude with which one couldn't agree at all. But despite this, the closure was an arbitrary decision."

## Ahmad Hamzeh Natshe Speaks From Experience

# Deportation, Divide and Rule, Negligence: This is the Israeli Occupation

by Maya Rosenfeld

*Dr Ahmad Hamzeh Natshe was the mayoral candidate for the National Bloc in Hebron in the 1976 municipal elections in the West Bank. Two weeks before the elections, Israeli authorities expelled him to Lebanon, yet the Bloc, headed by second-on-the-list Fahd Qawasmeh, won a smashing victory.*

*Natshe is a surgeon and before his expulsion he served as director of the government-run Bethlehem Hospital. When he returned to the West Bank in 1978, the Israelis prevented him from resuming his position. He now works in his private clinic in Hebron.*

**Q: Let us go back to the 1976 elections. You were a candidate on the National Bloc list for the municipality of Hebron, but were expelled by then Defence Minister Shimon Peres. How did this happen?**

A: The Israelis feared that I would win because I was the strongest candidate. They expelled me in order to give Sheikh Mohammed Ja'abari, a friend of the Israeli military government, the possibility of election. They thought this would intimidate the rest of the candidates on my list. But Fahd Qawasmeh and others were not deterred and they won the majority of votes.

**Q: How was the expulsion implemented?**

A: The expulsion was carried out on March 27, 1976, 12 days before the elections. The Israelis took me from my house at 1:00 am, claiming they were going to interrogate me. I spent that night in a detention room and in the morning I was expelled to South Lebanon.

The Israelis did it on a Saturday so that I wouldn't be able to go to court. Despite this my wife had sufficient time to make all preparations for an appeal. The court was set to hear the case at 4:00 pm. I was taken by helicopter to South Lebanon. I got there at 3:54 pm. At 4:00 an officer appeared in the court and told Judge Etzioni that I was on the other side of the border. The judge, and my lawyer, protested and expressed anger, but nothing was done.

**Q: How was the expulsion order revoked?**

A: The first decision which the municipality took after my list's victory was to work for my return. At any meeting with representatives of the Israeli military government, municipal officials put my return on top of the agenda. It was Ezer Weizmann, former defence minister, in the framework of his attempts to build good links in the West Bank, who agreed to this demand. Ben Eliezer, the then and current coordinator of activities in the West Bank, and other military officials were opposed to my return, but Weizmann's decision was implemented.

**Q: What are the main achievements of the Qawasmeh mayoralty?**

A: Despite the occupation, the town expanded and developed. New residential areas were set up. This development required water, electricity and transportation services.

The occupation authorities have always tried to prevent ther municipalities from taking part in political activities. They claimed that the task of the municipalities was to provide only services. But in this field occupation authorities placed many obstacles. Foremost among them is related to material help. All the financial backing came from abroad. Israel did not give any money, even the sums which it is obligated to provide as an occupation force.

**Q: How did the Israeli military government succeed in setting up the strongest Village Leagues in the Hebron mountains?**

A: The idea of the Village Leagues is not new or special to the Israeli occupation authorities. The British implemented "divide and rule" in Hebron during the '36-'37 revolt by feeding the disputes between the villagers and the townspeople. They brought about a boycott — the town's residents boycotted the agricultural produce from the neighbouring villages. So the idea is old. It was re-adopted by the Israeli "experts."

In Hebron, the authorities found a person whose history is paved with collaboration. Mustafa Dudeen served in 1948 as a double agent. He worked for the Egyptian intelligence in Gaza and at the same time he was an agent for the Jordanian intelligence. After he left Egypt he travelled to Jordan and within a few years he was appointed a minister in the Jordanian government. We cannot forget that he served in the Black September government. We do not know if he was sent to the West Bank in order to coordinate between Jordan and Israel. Many questions revolve around his coming here (in 1975). Those who are cooperating with him are illiterate mukhtars and criminals.

The invasion of Lebanon failed to prepare the way for the activities of these agents, although it was one of its objectives. Therefore, today the Israeli authorities also feel that the project was fruitless.

The objective was to create a leadership opposing the national leadership whose power and influence grew mainly after the 1976 elections. They hoped they would create a leadership which would cooperate with them, with the intention of finding an alternative to the PLO.

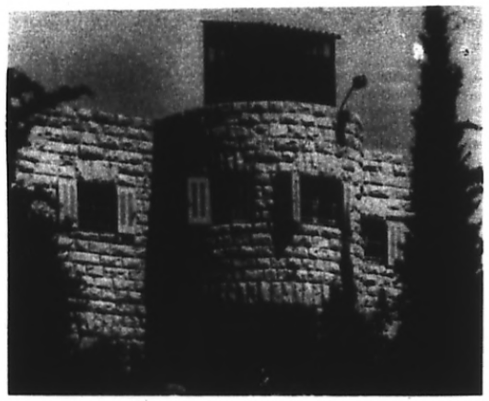
> "The idea of the Village Leagues is not new or special to the Israeli occupation... Divide and rule... was re-adopted by Israeli 'experts'"

**Q: Defence Minister Moshe Arens recently met with a delegation from Hebron, Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, and Hikmat Masri, who are all identified with the Jordanian regime. What is behind these meetings?**

A: The authorities are interested in using the failure of the talks between the PLO and Jordan. They try to make contact with the people linked with Jordan in the hope that they will become an alternative to the PLO. Regarding those who met with Arens in Hebron, they do not represent anyone but themselves.

**Q: What about Hussein's statement that if the conflict goes on in Fatah, it will not be possible to continue to recognise the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians?**

A: This is not new. Before Hussein, US Secretary of State George Shultz said this. This is an American policy in connection with the PLO and this is the American pressure on a number of Arab governments to withdraw recognition of the PLO as a legitimate representative of the Palestinians.



**Above, Union of the Village Leagues, Ramallah, headquarters for West Bank Village Leagues. (JN) Below, workers remove equipment from Jerusalem TB clinic. The clinic was forced to close in the spring of 1980 due to the occupation authorities' refusal to maintain the funds needed. (FS) "Since 1967, Israel has been accused by the World Health Organisation with negligence in the occupied territories, but this does not have any effect on its activities."**

### Health Services

*Hebron, like the rest of the occupied West Bank towns, has been a victim of the occupation policy regarding health. When the Israelis occupied the West Bank and Gaza Strip, a military decision was taken to maintain the status quo of the health situation. The decision means that the budget is allocated only for maintenance. In this way health conditions have not improved since 1967, despite the increase in population and changing needs.*

*In Hebron the situation is much worse than in other areas as it was backward even before the occupation. There is only one hospital for the whole Hebron district. In most of the neighbouring villages there are no clinics. The clinics which existed before 1967 in some villages were closed.*

*In the hospitals there are not enough nurses and other staff. The outdated equipment is not renewed, though sometimes it is replaced by used Israeli equipment.*

**Q: What about health insurance?**

A: It is the Israeli authorities who created the problem of health insurance. They raised the cost of medical treatment to the extent that 95 percent of the population cannot afford to pay. In Israel, all people are insured and they are not affected by the rising cost of treatment. But here in the West Bank, health insurance is given only to military government employees and those who work inside the 1948 borders of Israel.

When I receive a poor and uninsured person, I don't know what to do. They cannot pay for a governmental or private hospital. I can send them to Makassed (a private Arab hospital in Jerusalem) or to a charitable hospital, but these hospitals are usually very busy.

**Q: How was the situation before 1967?**

A: Until 1967 the health services were provided by the Jordanian government. Theoretically, we were supposed to levy a sum (equivalent to) IS35 for each day someone was hospitalised. I was then the director of Bethlehem Hospital. In accordance with the Jordanian law, the director of the hospital had the right to give free treatment. During this period, nobody paid because nobody could afford to pay even IS35.

By the way, since 1967, Israel has been accused by the World Health Organisation with negligence in the occpied territories, but this does not have any effect on its activities. (Translation: Al Fajr Hebrew, August 31).

**The imposing structures of Upper Nazareth loom over Arab Nazareth. Housing shortages in Arab Nazareth have forced residents to seek appartments in Upper Nazareth where they encounter severe discrimination /JN**

# Housing Discrimination in Upper Nazareth

by Fayez Abbas

An eye-catching sign reading "Whoever rents his apartment to an Arab is a trouble-maker of Ismel" appeared last month outside homes in Upper Nazareth. Other graffiti called on the Jewish settlers not to sell apartments to Arabs.

On August 2, and after a long struggle, a man from Arab Nazareth succeeded in finding an apartment in the upper city for his family. After he received the keys and started moving his belongings, a group of settlers living in the same building demonstrated and prevented him from putting his belongings in the house. "I could not believe this," he said. "I have had good relations with many people in Upper Nazareth."

He tried to force his way in but found himself helpless when facing dozens of placard-holding settlers. They also carried big sticks. He decided to withdraw and called on the police to intervene. The police ordered him to leave the place together with his belongings.

### Why Arabs Go to Upper Nazareth

For a number of yeirs, Arab Nazareth has suffered an acute apartment shortage. The Israeli housing ministry does not build houses for young couples as it does in the Jewish sector, and most of the land which was part of the municipal area was expropriated. As a result, there is a major shortage of building land.

Due to this situation, young Arab couples look for apartments in Upper Nazareth. At the beginning, a number of Arab families, mainly merchants and craftspeople, moved there and this created no problems. But in the last five years, the housing problem in the Arab town has worsened and many Arab families who could find apartments in Upper Nazareth moved there.

The growing number of Arabs in Upper Nazareth was not welcomed by the Jewish settlers. They started to claim that Upper Nazareth, which was supposed to be an exclusively Jewish township to combat the "Arab concentration" in Arab Nazareth, would lose its 'Jewish character' after the Arab 'break' across its borders.

The Upper Nazareth mayor has described the situation in the town as a "catastrophe." He recently called on "those concerned" to "act immediately and prevent Arabs from living in Upper Nazareth."

After this campaign of incitement,

> Upper Nazareth Mayor Menachem Arian recently called for "immediate action" to prevent Arabs from living there.

which was also carried in the Israeli press, the Jewish settlers started to harass Arab residents and forcefully stop them from moving in. Arab residents in Upper Nazareth also suffer discrimination and harassment. Settlers try to prevent Arab children from learning in the town's school.

Earlier this year, Labour Party Mayor Menachem Arian said that this is a "national problem and it should be solved by all means available." He accused the government of failing to settle Jews in the area. He said that according to the government's plan, the number of settlers should have been 40,000 by the end of 1983. The actual number is only 26,000. There are hundreds of vacant apartments.

In Upper Nazareth today there are about 2500 Arabs, 10 percent of the population. Their number is constantly rising.

This fact worries the town's mayor, who does not conceal his resentment of the situation. Ariav claims that without intervention on a cabinet level, Upper Nazareth will turn into a 'mixed town.' In the Arab town, the residents view this as sheer racism.

"If the government does not build apartments and expropriates land, where can the Arabs live?" asks Hassan Zu'bi, an Arab worker looking for an apartment. He said Nazarenes are desparately looking for apartments in Upper Nazareth and that they are ready to pay any price to find shelter.

Many Upper Nazareth settlers rent or sell their apartments for the highest price they can get. According to an Arab resident of Upper Nazareth, the Arabs pay almost twice the going price.

Upper Nazareth was established in 1957 as a Jewish development town to serve as the administrative centre for the northern district. The purpose of setting up the town was to create a counter-weight to Arab Nazareth. Its economy is based on commerce, industry and tourism.

The campaign escalated this year when settlers who live on Israel Street, Upper Nazareth, invited the infamous (racist and leader of the Kach movement) Meir Kahane to deliver a lecture. He called on them to be "the first ones to launch legal and open, public activities against the Arab inhabitants in a 'Jewish settlement.' "Kahane told the settlers, all involved in incidents in which Arab families were prevented from entering apartments rented in their neighbourhood: "This is a dangerous phenomenon of occupation of the land of *Eretz Israel* by Arabs."

Meir Kahane's host, Alex Finkelstein of Israel Street, said at the same meeting: "Preventing Arabs from living in Upper Nazareth should (be justified) on a purely Zionist national basis." Finkelstein added that he and his friends are aware of the problem "to which my life and the fate of my children are tied." Kahane concluded the meeting, saying: "If you act, there will be no Arab population here."

He encouraged settlers to organise in committees to operate against Arabs trying to move into the Jewish town. His suggestion was to visit every house and get the settlers to sign a petition committing them not to sell apartments to Arabs. A punishment would be imposed on those violating the commitment, he said.

Kahane suggested organising a mass demonstration in front of the prime minister's office, to proclaim that there is no place for both Arab and Jewish peoples in the state.

A few days later, Kahane went further and called for the establishment of an official committee to transfer Arabs from Israel to the United States.

Ramez Jaraysch, deputy mayor of Nazareth, told *Al Fajr* that "such incitement and racist campaigns are likely to worsen relations between Jews and Arabs in Nazareth." He added that what is going on now in Upper Nazareth is a result of the general racist atmosphere prevalent in Israel. (Translation: Al Fajr Hebrew, August 17, 1983).

BOOK REVIEW: THE POLITICS OF JEWISH IDENTITY IN ISRAEL

# IDENTITY CRISIS

by Hanna Assadi

When a Jewish state is created one would imagine the question of 'who is Jewish' would somehow be resolved. In fact, decades-long debate has divided the population of Israel probably more on this question than on any other.

A new book by Akiva Orr, *The UnJewish State: The Politics of Jewish Identity in Israel* (Ithaca Press, London), examines the history of the question in Israeli courts, the Knesset and cabinet, and concludes that the debate reveals Israel's search for an illusive collective identity.

In a nutshell, the problem for Zionists, Orr argues, is the attempt to force theocentric Judaism into the service of the secularist national-colonial movement of Zionism. Born with the decline of Orthodox Judaism in the face of Middle European Judaism, Zionism presented itself as the way ahead for questioning Jews by replacing God with nationalism.

Secular in outlook and with pretentions to adapt other Western ideologies such as socialism and liberalism to their new creed, the Zionists fought hard after the establishment of the Jewish state to define legislatively and socially a non-religious Jewish identity. "The leaders of Israel discovered," writes Orr, "much to their own surprise, that in the Jewish case, religion and nationality were inseparable." The story of the defeat of modern secularism and the implication for rights in Israel make up the body of the book.

The retreat started early — with the declaration of the establishment of the state of Israel. Israel was not declared independent but a "Jewish state in Palestine." The group who signed the declaration established a committee to draw up a constitution and basic laws. Thirty-five years later they still have not managed to report. Orr reports that defining basic rights in humanistic or universal terms has proved to be in an impossible contradiction with the 'Jewish' rubric attached to the state.

Immigration in Israel is regulated by the Law of Return, which allows all Jews immediate citizenship. In the '50s, major rows broke out when the Mapam minister of the interior tried to institute an interpretation that a declaration by both parents that their child was Jewish was enough to register the child as such.

Religious ministers resigned over the issue, demanding Orthodox law (that a Jew is a Jew by virtue of being born to a Jewish mother, or being properly converted) be used. A government which got through the Suez fiasco unscathed provoked an unprecedented crisis. Orr gives a speech-by-speech account of the unfolding drama which culminated with an approach to significant Jewish figures — they backed a religious interpretation.

Round two came with the case of a hero of the Jewish underground in Nazi-occupied Europe, a convert to Catholicism who demanded citizenship under the Law of Return as a Jewish national but Catholic by religion. The Supreme Court turned him down 4:1.

Brother Daniel, the man concerned, met all *halachaic* criteria — but the idea of a Jewish/Catholic monk was too much.

In 1970 the seculars scored perhaps their only victory. A military man, married to a non-Jew, demanded his children be recognised as Jews on basis of culture. Eventually he won. He won but the Knesset soon stopped the loophole.

The final three chapters of the book discuss the implications of the identity problem.

For Orr, the crux of the problem is in identity. If Israelis espouse to a 'secular identity' they have to drop religion. "Secularisation cannot preserve theocentrism. It destroys it utterly and completely," he notes. He concludes that in fact Jews, like others in a capitalist-dominated society, are opting for egocentrism. He prefers anthropocentrism (people-centred), but notes that theo-, ethno- and egocentric cultures presently hold sway.

Orr does not discuss the manifold political implications of his thesis, yet his book on a seemingly obscure or peripheral topic holds many clues for those seeking a fuller understanding of the problem which the "unJewish state" has unleashed in the Middle East.

# COOPERATIVES IN ISLAMIC SOCIETY

*Last week* Al Fajr *published the first part of a two-part series on cooperatives in Islamic society. Adnan Obeidat began by stressing the importance of the economic aspects of the cooperation. Here, Obeidat provides specific examples concerning the realisation of Islamic ideals, aimed at "curbing individualism and egoistic urges and bigotries in order to build the ideal Islamic society."*

by Adnan Obeidat

In Medina, the Prophet Mohammed himself established the *muakhat*, Brotherhood Covenant, which served to bring the Muslims - immigrants and followers alike — together. The Brotherhood comprised a social relationship which led to man helping fellow man as a brother, sharing in his worldly possessions and furnishing him with assistance. This is a feature which is worthy of attaining in any society seeking to practice cooperation between its members.

Another example is the Kaba' Mosque - also known as the Prophet s Mosque. Muslims, led by the Prophet himself, cooperated in the building of this mosque, to which everyone contributed in terms of money and effort. The Prophet did not sit in a sort of ivory tower but was active as a manual worker — so much so that it is said that his clothes were tattered as a result of his labours. This is not in the least surprising since the mosque was to be a place of worship and consultation for all Muslims.

Islam laid down principles which were meant to lead to the formation of cooperative, mutual-aid societies in towns and villages. In villages, the inhabitants used to cooperate in tilling and irrigating the land that belonged to the village. This was especially true of Egyptian villages, in which the *'Umda* (village head) used to distribute the land to each according to his ability, on the assumption that the villagers were not the owners of the land but only its keepers who pay land tax on it. The whole village used to pay the land tax, which in turn used to be spent on the needy amongst them. This system has obvious advantages such as:

1. Providing for the needy and the disabled.

2. Paying for any damage that may befall the land.

3. Cooperation in producing the best of what they need for their agriculture and their home consumption.

4. Marketing the produce.

Cooperation in agriculture and in construction works is yet another example. It is a truism that mental concepts affect man's behaviour on the practical plane. Our Islamic society still adheres to some of the premises of cooperation; in the village, in hard agricultural work, there is a practice known as *'awna*, whereby farmers cooperate in all fields of their work in order to obtain the best and quickest results. The same is true of certain construction work and repair work affecting the roofs of dwellings. In the latter instance, the task may be given to the housewives, who would carry out the work collectively according to the principles of *'awna*.

Families, extended families, tribes and villages as a whole usually build a single collective guest house in which guests coming from all over can stay. This guest house, known in Arabic as *madhafa*, is built and maintained cooperatively by all the villagers. Some of the advantages of these guest houses are:

1. They save households the burden of maintaining separate guest houses or guest rooms. The *madhafa* belongs to all the villagers and is thus a factor in economy and an incentive to saving.

2. The *madhafa* is a suitable and very convenient place for meetings held by villagers, in which shared problems are aired and everyone can take part in their solution.

3. The *madhafa* tends to bring people together and, through constant and direct contact, helps to eliminate any hatreds or hard feelings that might exist.

The custom of *diyya* (blood money) also displays cooperation. The Arab tribe is one of a piece, ruled by principles of cooperation and mutual aid between rich and poor; those who have provide for those who have not. It is also collectively responsible for the crimes committed by its members, so that if a financial fine is imposed on a man who commits a crime, the tribe as a whole pays it on his behalf except where crimes involving morals are concerned; in such cases the onus is on the culprit alone and the tribe does not contribute to paying the fine. Although I have my own reservations about these customs — especially where the crimes are premeditated — there is no doubt but that there are certain concepts of cooperation in the practice of collective payment of the *diyya* in cases in which the crime occurs accidentally.

There are other spheres in which concepts of cooperation are in evidence in Islamic society. This is to be found in the solidarity and cooperation displayed in meeting the various financial expenditures which pertain to wedding parties on the one hand and in cases of death and mourning on the other. These commitments, which are unwritten, are considered more binding than any written undertaking. This is because they are seer as part of the most prominent social values to which the individual has to adhere if he is not to be excluded from the community.

So far, we have dealt with cooperation in Islam in the past. Concerning cooperation in the modern organised sense of the term, this is widespread today in every Arab country without any exception. It is known that the majority of cooperative societies in the Arab world are agricultural ones, established to provide loans and encourage saving. In Egypt, there are more than 8000 agricultural and more than 2000 other cooperatives, which brings the total to over 10,000.

Certain objections, based mainly on religious grounds, have been raised against Arab cooperative societies which charge interest on loans furnished to their members. Religious sensibilities have had their role here: Islam forbids *riba* (interest) and observant Muslims considered interest charged by cooperative societies as *riba*. For this reason, these cooperatives substituted the term 'service charge' for the objectionable word 'interest.' In addition, the Sheikh of the Azhar Mosque in Cairo issued a *fatwa* (edict) in which he analysed the work of these cooperatives and judged it as wholly legal and essential for the advancement of Islamic communities. After all, the separation of church and state is not known in Islam and has not struck roots in our East.

It must be noted here that all the Arab countries are developing countries and thus the governments of these countries have in various measures supported, encouraged and given guidance to cooperative movements. The reason for this is that developing societies have to have planned social and economic programmes guided by the state. In these societies, the masses should not be left to their own devices, to establish cooperatives automatically; state guidance and state planning are essential and they are to be provided through legislation and by furnishing the necessary facilities to cooperatives as well as by making available productive loans on easy terms.

# PALESTINE AND LITERATURE

# an artistic and political struggle

*In its June 1983 issue, Al Hurriyya, the magazine of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) published an interview with Egyptian progressive poet Amal Danqal, who died recently in Cairo, only in his 40s. Ahmad Dahbour, the well known Palestinian poet, wrote an obituary expressing the feelings of many literary figures in the Arab world for the progressive poet, considered one of the major modern poets in the Arab world. Amal Danqal was well known for the constant struggle in his poety for new content and form.*

by Ahmad Dahbour

The reader learned of Danqal's national political attitudes through his poetry only. He did not write political articles nor release statements. However, Danqal has a weapon more piercing than any other, the weapon of irony and mockery. He mocks at error, betrayal, oppression. Since the use of irony implies contradictions, his poetry is full of contradictions. It is best to call him the poet of ideas, and the idea within his poems, in most cases, was manifested in a dynamic image.

*His car tyre is stained with blood*
*Not caring, he moved on*
*I was the sole witness*
*But I covered the prostrate body*
*With my daily newspaper*
*As men came from afar*
*I tore into pieces*
*The number written on a small piece of newspaper*
*I walked away, without opening my mouth.*

Is it true that Amal Danqal did not open his mouth?

He opened it as wide as possible. He not only presented important testimmony, but provided a progressive vision. His personal observations, his bitter have a noble sadness.

Danqal published five collections of poetry in his lifetime: *Weeping Before the Hands of Zarqa'al-Yamama — A Comment on What Happened; The Moon's Murder; The Coming Age; Kulaib's Murder;* and *The Ten Commandments.* An anothology, *Conversations in a Closed Room*, a collection from previous works, was recently issued in Libya. Danqal spoke about a new manuscript with representatives of the Rose al-Yousef Printing House. Egyptian friends also talked about another manuscript he wrote in the last months of his life, in which he revealed his experience with illness and the approach of death.

In general, his collection *The Coming Age* is the most innovative. In it he adapted Bibical verses and sayings in a way he had previously used proverbs. He used the language of the Quran, the Bible, and day-to-day speech.

*Our Father Who Art In The Mukhabarat Headquarters*

*We are your followers*
*Eternal is your omnipotence*
*Eternal is our realm*
*You will remain on guard using your awesome power*
*Only you alone are at ease*
*The right-wing loses*
*The left-wing is in trouble*
*But only those who walk with*
*Those who live*
*Those who stuff the bribed newspapers into eyes*
*They live*
*But only those traitors, those who iron their collars*
*With the bonds of silence*

He was not among those collaborators. He had faith in the Arab world, in the Arab people, in the popular armed struggle for the liberation of Palestine, and other occupied Arab countries. He was frank and had no problems expressing his opinions. For instance, he told me, after I hadn't seen him for a long time, that he opposed the assassination of Yousef Siba'i. I wrote a poem about him here in Beirut: I am against betrayal, but against terrorism, I am ready to declare this openly.

In Beirut, I heard an honourable story about him. Friends had arranged a meeting with a leading Palestinian official and notified him of Danqal's deteriorating health. The Palestinian official offered him some assistance, but Danqal politely refused to take it. After much pressure he agreed to work in Egypt as a correspondent for the Palestinian press, but said he would not accept pay if the work was merely symbolic.

A few months later I accidently came across his letter to that official. In it Danqal apologised for not accepting assistance and for turning down treatment in hospital. He affirmed his absolute faith in the Palestinian revolution and said he preferred that the assistance be given to a wounded fighter of the revolution.

AMAL DANQAL

Was that the right attitude? Did he realise that the proper time for medical treatment had passed? Or could he not accept the idea of death?

If this is so, then we know that he gained his power and solidity from his intense experience of life, from the support of his wife in facing his cancer from the first day of their married life. He said of her: "A heroine is that 'Abla' ... It is natural that we did not have children under these conditions... and she attempts to convince me that she does not think of children...strong... strong...

"But she weakened once; I entered the hospital to have the second cobalt test, and the nurses were carrying a dead person on a stretcher. She wept. But after half an hour she behaved normally, as if nothing had happened."

The one thing that saddened him was that the few years of life he had were not enough to see the attainment of his dreams. But what saddens us, friend, is that we lost so much with your departure. But who says that profit chamcterises this era?

# DIARIES OF ABU NAWWAS

by Amal Danqal

FIRST PAPER

*"King or words?"*
*My friend shouted to me as he tossed his piaster in the air*
*Then he catches it*
*(We had finished classes, the ink of childhood on our dresses)*
*The birds pass through houses*
*Landing on far palms*

. . . . . .

*"King or words?"*
*He shouted at me. I am alert, a fly buzzed around shining eyes*
*I said, "Words"*
*He opened the palm smiling, the happy king's face was smiling*
*Sublimely*
*"King or words?"*
*I shouted in my turn*
*Highmindedness and ardent love fluttered in his eyes*
*He answered, "King"*
*Without hesitation or anger*
*I opened my hand*
*The written inscription protruded solidly*
*The earth turns its round*
*Shadoofs* took us from the serenity of the river*
*They cast us into the streams of the odd land*
*We dispersed into the fields of distress*
*fields of ardent love*
*We met two drops on the palace staircase*
*On one lonely evening*
*I was there as the drinking companion of Rashid***
*While my friend was supervising the office of gatekeeper*

THE SECOND PAPER

*He who owns the coin, grasps its two faces*
*The poor are between, between*

THE THIRD PAPER

*Asleep, I was at his side, I heard guards*
*Wakening my father*
*"Dissenter"*
*"Me. . ."*
*"Renegade"*
*"Who? Me!"*
*The infant at the breast of my mother cried*
*My mother with her hair loose, in her house clothes*
*"Shut up"*
*We disappeared behind the wall*
*"Shut up"*
*A stream of blood flowed from his throat*
*My father grasped the wound*
*Maintained his stature*
*his family's respect*
*"O father"*
*"Shut up"*
*I had hid in my mother's dress. The infant on her breast did not breathe*
*They took my father*
*Leaving to us the orphanage, wrapped in dumbness*

THE FOURTH PAPER

*O poetry . . . O stolen joy*
*All that I wrote in this leaf of paper*
*Confiscated by the police*

THE FIFTH PAPER

*My mother is an Assyrian servant*
*Her masters exchange the sex-coffee while she sets the wood alight*
*Her masters stare at her hips*
*When she bends to blow the fire*
*Her good masters mock her Assyrian accent*
*Asleep I was at her side, I saw the angel of Al Quds ****
*Bending, caressing her cheeks*
*Her arms relaxed slowly, slowly*
*A shudder of silence grew in my heart*
*"Mother!" my voice returned*
*"Mother!" Death answered me*
*"Mother!" I hugged her...I wept,*
*The tears clouded my eyes, then stopped flowing.*

THE SIXTH PAPER

*Do not ask me whether the Quran is eternal*
*or temporal*
*But ask whether the Sultan is a thief*
*or half-prophet*

THE SEVENTH PAPER

*I was in Karbula'*****
*When the Sheikh told me that Hussein*
*Died for the sake of a mouth-full of water*
*I asked how swords spoiled the son of the most honourable?*
*He who heaven had smiled on answered*
*It was the glittering gold in the eyes*
*If the words of Hussein*
*The exaltedness of Hussein*
*The swords of Hussein*
*Fell without saving the just from*
*the gold of princes*
*Could the poet's chatter save them?*
*And the Euphrates is a tongue of blood without lips*

***

*He died for the sake of a mouth-full of water*
*Pour for me, O wine-water, day and night*
*To attempt to forget the blood.*

* Shadoof: a counterpoised swoop used for raising irrigation water (especially in Egypt.)
** Rashid: a powerful and popular caliph in the Abbassid period.
*** Al Quds: Jerusalem.
**** Karbula':an area in southern Iraq; site of a famous battle between Hussein Ibn Ali (descendent of Mohammed) and Yazid Ben Moawya for the inheritance of the caliphate in the eighth century.

(Translation: *Al Jadid*, No. 7, July 1983)

# WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The war in Lebanon and the new aggression by fascist Lebanese forces, supported by the multinational forces were the main front page stories in the local Palestinian newspapers this week. Casualties among American and French soldiers during the ongoing battles were given considerable attention.

Significance was also given to the UN Conference on the Question of Palestine held in Geneva.

In addition, the local papers reported on the resignation of Mustafa Dudeen and Jamil Khatib from their posts in the Israeli-backed Village Leagues, due to pressures exerted by the Israeli military authorities.

On the international level, the papers reported on the irony behind US President Ronald Reagan's stand regarding the accident involving the Korean airplane, mocking Reagan's double standard on human rights.

## The Venice Declaration

PLO Chief Yasir Arafat has strongly criticised the European community for its unexpected and disgraceful conduct, evident in its low-key representation at the Geneva conference on Palestine.

Arafat said they were making a grave mistake in recanting their previously courageous and frank stand, which they adopted in the Venice Declaration. The Declaration re-affirmed the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the right to establish their own state on their own land.

But in no time at all, the tables were turned. France refused to host the conference, and West Germany plunged headlong into a policy of alignment with Israel, discarding by the roadside their policy of moderation in the Middle East.

If the European community has decided to look at world affairs through US eyes, then it is indeed committing a grave mistake, for which it will have to pay sooner or later.

The European countries have a wide range of interests in the Middle East, and it is not possible for these interests to be nurtured or preserved without a permanent peace in the area. Such a peace is impossible without an honorable solution to the Palestine problem that safeguards all the national rights of the Palestinian people.

**AL FAJR**
**September 1**

## America's New Vietnam

The US Marine contingent in Lebanon has been playing an active role recently in supporting the invasion of West Beirut by the fascist Gemayel forces.

Not content with this, the Reagan administration has ordered its aircraft carriers to stage a show of force and flex their muscles off the Lebanese coast.

Reagan has also ordered a naval force to back the Marines — further proof of America's base role on the Lebanese stage. If the US is trying through its fascist puppets to stage manage the war, as it did in Vietnam, and to crush the Lebanese nationalist forces, it is the right of all Lebanese citizens and Arab citizens to resist.

And the Arab response has been quite clear: as long as Gemayel is on a war footing, he will continue to face determined resistance, and as long as the multinational forces continue to intervene, they will be a target for nationalist guns.

**AL SHAAB**
**September 2**

## Someone Else's Set of Teeth

The Lebanese government's decision to call on Syria to withdraw its troops from Lebanon represents a turning point in its policy. However, this was not the first such call. When Lebanon signed the peace accord with Israel, it directly called for the evacuation of Syrian forces from its territory.

Lebanon's message to Syria and other Arab nations is this: we are now ready to seek the assistance of any party in exchange for a modicum of political stability and security in Lebanon — but it is also lashing out at Syria and blaming it for the current impasse with its support of the various warring militias.

Lebanon does not have the ability to take on the onerous task of national revival and reconstruction itself and is therefore having to rely on the US and France to achieve this.

Lebanon's request will be submitted to the UN Security Council, and a Soviet veto is a foregone conclusion. Syria can also be expected to launch a smear campaign against Lebanon, at the same time fuelling the antagonism of opposition Lebanese elements. Lebanon might have to call for an Arab summit, since it was a decision by an Arab summit that sent Syrian peace-keeping troops to Lebanon in the first place.

The US will not stand idly by with folded arms — what with an election just around the corner and Reagan itching to prove to his fellow Americans that the US is still a mighty power, it is quite logical to expect, therefore, a repeat performance of 1958, when US marines answered a call from Camille Chamoun and intervened in Lebanon on his behalf.

**AL QUDS**
**September 3**

## Shamir After Begin

Shamir's victory over Levy in winning the Herut nomination for the premiership was no surprise because all Herut ministers voted for him and because while Levy had expressed some reservations during the invasion of Lebanon, Shamir had had no such qualms and had been one of the most extremist backers of the criminal adventure.

Arens, Aridor and Sharon also backed Shamir because he is an old man and could be considered just a stop-gap solution. Had Levy been elected, it would not have been so easy to budge him. He might also have formed alliances with Weitzmann, the moderate wing of the Liberals and Tami — this would have diluted the traditional Beginist spirit of the Herut.

No matter how hard they try, Herut cannot disabuse Oriental Jews of the sectarian nature of the elections. Had Levy's family name been Levinsky, he might have stood a chance, one Oriental Jew told a radio interviewer.

Shamir is a political extension of Begin, and the most adamant Israeli politician where Palestinians, occupation and settlement are concerned. He is a rightist extremist, no friend to communism and willing to serve US Middle East policy unreservedly.

The fact that Shamir has a weaker personality than Begin and less control over the Likud might force him into a dangerous adventure in order to prove himself. Shamir has a history of terrorism, like Begin, but unlike the latter he is less politically experienced and this makes him particularly dangerous.

It can be assumed that Shamir will be unable to handle all the complicated political and economic problems that felled Begin, and he must not be allowed to form a new government.

**AL ITTIHAD**
**September 4**

## Battle of the Mountain

The war of the mountains is the direct result of the isolationist policy of Amin Gemayel who is trying to impose a Phalangist hegemony over all areas of Lebanon, and over its political direction.

The destructive policy of the US and the impotent silence of the Arab regimes also contributed to the outbreak of the war.

The nationalist forces in Lebanon offered the authorities a chance at effecting a national reconciliation and presented a reasonable political platform, but the ruling regime insisted on holding on to the Israel-Lebanon agreement and resorted to the use of the sectarian army in launching an offensive against the nationalist elements in Beirut, which were naturally forced to defend themselves against the fascist assault.

But the nationalists are not only fighting back in self-defence; they are also defending the Arab nature of Lebanon, and its unity, because the fascists want to eradicate all this.

**AL SHAAB**
**September 6**

## Israel Should Withdraw

The war-addicted leaders of Israel, who have a penchant for occupation, expansionism and settlement, hate the sound of the word "withdrawal". That is why you hear them speaking of "redeployment of Israeli forces in Lebanon."

When the Begin-Sharon-Eitan axis launched their barbaric assault on Lebanon, they were under the illusion that they would eliminate the Palestinian and nationalist Lebanese forces in a trice, and transform the Arab country into an Israeli protectorate, run by their Phalangist collaborators.

They failed, naturally, because they met with fierce and determined resistance — and it can be said that the Israeli "withdrawal" was precipitated by the valiant defence of Lebanon.

The concentration of Israeli forces in the south should be viewed in its historic perspective, against the background of traditional Zionist aspirations. As far back as 1919, Zionist leaders were clamouring for a national Jewish state with the Awali River as its northern border.

The Israeli government makes no secret of its intention to stay in the south — witness its support of Saad Haddad's gangs and the establishment of several projects in the south.

Science Minister Yuval Ne'eman indicated Israel could be in for a 10-15 year stay, and once Israel has stayed that long, there is no way it can be made to leave.

But Israel will not succeed in achieving its dream: the Lebanese resistance will chase it all the way to the Awali, and the people of South Lebanon wil refuse to live under Israeli occupation. Israel should withdraw — or be made to withdraw — from all of Lebanon.

**AL ITTIHAD**
**September 6**

Homemade kindergarten toys exhibited at Jerusalem workshop, September 2 /JN

# Kindergarten workshop promotes 'toys for teaching'

More than 20 Palestinian women, all members of the Working Women Committees Union in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (WWCU), took part in the opening ceremonies for the first non-profit kindergarten workshop in Wadi Joz, Jerusalem, September 2. The initial phase of the project aims at producing low-cost toys to use in the 15 kindergartens run by the Union in the occupied territories.

During the opening ceremony, Jaqueline Sfair, coordinator of the workshop exhibit, said the purpose of the project is to provide learning materials for existing preschool centres. She explained to the circle of women seated around in the former nursery that toys can be effective teaching devices and, in fact, are necessary for children's development. "We should not perceive toys only as intruments of pleasure, which we use to reward children. Instead," she continued, "we should look at toys as instruments to enhance children's natural abilities."

Sfair, who is now training volunteers to run the workshop after she departs to the US on a study trip, pointed out that the exhibit also offers family guidance about the kinds of toys suitable for each age group and advice on toy safety.

Prior to her speech, the women were addressed by Amal Khraisheh, head of the WWCU, who welcomed Sfair and praised her for her services. She stressed the importance of popular organisations in carrying out collective duties and services for the entire community. She particularly noted the importance of child raising and child education.

In another room a variety of toys were exhibited on two tables. Sfair, who is studying for her doctorate in the US in the field of early education, explained the purpose of each toy. She categorised them into four age groups, each with its own psychological development patterns. For instance, infants from birth to one year benefit most from brightly coloured toys. This, she said, is due to the fact that babies' sight is the main means of contact with the outside world. For ages one through three, soft-touch dolls are recommended. For children three through six, more sophisticated toys such as puzzles are suitable.

Sfair told *Al Fajr* that she was encouraged to pursue this project after she made repeated visits to kindergartens in Palestinian villages. "All kindergartens contained some chairs, a table and a blackboard," she said. She added that these instruments are inadequate for the educational needs of preschoolers. But the high cost of manufactured toys, mostly imports, is a formidable obstacle to buying play objects.

The toys on display were made by several women, under Sfair's direct supervision, from remnants obtained from tailor shops, textile factories and carpentries. Among the toy models were cloth dolls, hand puppets, basic puzzles and painted three-dimensional pictures.

A permanent workshop is to be opened at the WWCU headquarters and will run on a voluntary basis. Two employees are to work at the main workshop centre in Wadi Joz in Jerusalem, near the Nadi Muwazafin. Much of the work, however, will be distributed to members of the WWCU to do at home.

A six-month study programme for kindergarten teachers preceded the exhibit's opening. The course, held between January and June, for 27 teachers, involved in-service training in eight educational areas. Among courses taught were child psychology, development, classroom management, psychomotor activities, language development, social and emotional development and learning environment.

Because of the present situation faced by the Palestinian people, child education specialists are not common in the occupied territories. Many preschool teachers are not specialised in their field.

Sfair, who toured a number of kindergartens in the occupied villages, told *Al Fajr* that she got an impression that teachers there were merely "guardians, so the children would not harm themselves."

# Anti-Zionists to march on Jerusalem

Opponents of Zionism from all over the world will march, September 18, in Jerusalem in memory of the victims of the Sabra and Shatila massacres, last year, and to attract international support for the Palestinian people. Professor Richard Arens, brother of the Israeli minister of defence, will participate in the demonstration.

*The Jewish Chronicle* in London reported that it is not clear whether the demonstration will start from inside Israel and then make for Jerusalem, or start from the Jordanian border towards Jerusalem.

The sponsors are USA anti-Zionists Ralph Shoneman and Maya Shone. Former Irish Republican MP in the British House of Commons, Bernadotte Devlin, and Ramsey Clark, the former attorney general in the USA, are also sponsors.

Sean MacBride, the chairman of the international investigating committee on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last year, is also among the sponsors.

# House arrest order revoked

JERUSALEM — The Israeli Central District Commander has decided not to extend the house arrest order against Saleh Baransi, one of the leaders of the *al-Ard* movement. Baransi will be allowed the freedom to move around the country without an escort, but is still banned from going to Jerusalem or the occupied lands. However, he will be able to travel abroad.

Baransi has been under house arrest since 1960, after organising and setting up the *al-Ard* movement. He is considered an independent Arab leader, despite the insistence of the Israeli authorities that he is leftist.

Baransi is now supervising the setting up of the Palestinian Heritage Centre in the village of Taibeh, in the Triangle.


ANERA

ANERA is a non-profit, charitable organisation assisting Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and in the refugee camps. In the belief that its humanitarian work will contribute to peace in the region, ANERA emphasises lasting projects in health, education and community development.

Tax-deductable contributions to ANERA or requests for information may be sent to:

1522 K Street, NW, 2202, Washington, DC, 20005

ANERA


*continued from page 7*

# Arab studies centre

*Make-up of the Palestinian People*, written by Janet Abu Lughod; an Israeli statistical book on the occupied territories; and the first part of the Israeli documents book from 1947 on, which is being translated.

The administrative staff sees the centre as the nucleus for a large Palestinian research centre devoted to the Palestinian cause. They believe that it is and will be a great contribution to Palestinian students, teachers, researchers and to the Palestinian people in general.

Faysal noted: "Because of our deprivation" of incoming books published in the Arab countries about the Palestinian cause, due to Israeli military censorship, "we were forced to pick up the foreign language books about Palestine which are available on the local market and translate them."

Faysal, who has been under town arrest for the past 18 months, added that political reality made it necessary for them to initiate the centre "in order to make information available about our cause and people."

Local Palestinians are happy about the existence of the centre, often referred to simply as the Husseini centre. Mufid al-Dik, a journalist with Arabic *Al Fajr*, said that this centre is one of the most important projects in the occupied territories. "The centre has a priceless press archives which is organised in an excellent way. I often go there to use it."

Others hoped that the centre will go forward in achieving the future plans and become a "real Palestinian centre in Palestine."


**Al Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly publishes a daily supplement of English translations of selected local news items published in the four Arabic dailies: Al Fajr, Al Shaab, Al Ittihad, and Al Quds. The translations, which will be of the same day's newspapers, will also include abridged versions of the editorials appearing in the four dailies. This news service by the Al Fajr (English) staff will reflect the same high standards of accuracy and quality of English translations as Al Fajr weekly.**

**The supplement — under the heading "The Jerusalem Dawn" — will be hand delivered daily by lunch time, except on Sundays, to subscribers at the address they prefer.**

**A service charge of US $50 per month is requested for the subscription.**

**Cheques may be sent to Al Fajr newspaper, P.O. Box 19315, Jerusalem. For additional information, please ask at Al Fajr (English) offices, 2 Hatem Ta'ee Street, Jerusalem, Telephone: 281035.**

# WEEKLY REVIEW

**August 31, 1983**

### BOOBY TRAP NEAR SCHOOL

HEBRON — Hebron police discovered a booby-trapped TV set near a shop located opposite a secondary school on the intersection of the Hebron-Yatta highway. Shop owner Khalid Abu Sneineh said he got suspicious when he saw the TV set.

Sappers were called and after careful scrutiny, blew it up before it could go off.

### HERITAGE CENTRE GROWING

The Centre for the Revival of Palestinian Heritage in Taibeh village, in the Triangle, is looking for senior administrative staff. The centre seeks to attract a highly professional cadre of staff members. It is advertising for an academic director who has a doctorate in social sciences or the humanities and who has had research published.

It also wants to enlist the services of an expert in Palestinian folklore.

### PRISON FOR STUDENT

RAMALLAH — The Israeli military court in Ramallah has sentenced Ayman Abd al-Rahman, a student at Bir Zeit University, to six months in jail, after convicting him of taking part in anti-massacre demonstrations, July 27.

Another student, Basel Ba'ba'o, was released after 38 days in detention. Five other students standing trial have had their cases adjourned until September 14.

### CORPSE FOUND

BEIT JALA — Police have stumbled on the corpse of an unidentified person near the Talitha Kumi Convent, in Beit Jala. Police said the corpse was discovered in an isolated hilly region and has been sent for autopsy. They said the body had been horribly battered and mutilated.

Preliminary reports said the man could have been a local, but police squelched the idea.

### OLIVE PRESSES INSPECTED

TULKARM — The Tulkarm district health office and the agricultural department will make a tour of inspection of the olive presses of Tulkarm, Qalqiliya, Salfit and Anabta before the olive pressing season starts next month.

### SILWAD PUNISHED

JERUSALEM — The Israeli authorities have confiscated the identification cards of a number of residents of Silwad. The authorities also ordered residents to remove anti-Israeli slogans painted on the walls in the town.

### DRIVERS

HEBRON — Hebron drivers in the 50-age bracket have to travel to Ramallah to renew their driving licences.

Officials say they must have a physical check-up in Ramallah. Drivers insist there are enough competent doctors in the Hebron health department.

**September 1, 1983**

### GENEVA DELEGATION

UM AL-FAHM — A delegation representing Abna'al-Balad movement in Um al-Fahm left for Geneva to attend the UN Conference on the Question of Palestine.

The delegation comprises Marwan Darwish and Mahmoud Fawzi from the village, and Mayassarah Sayyed from Acre. They will participate as observers.

### DRUZE RIGHTS

JERUSALEM — The leader of Israel's Association for Civil Rights, Ruth Gavison, countered charges of using uncorroborated evidence and reiterated that the government of Israel did indeed impinge upon the rights of the Golan Druze during last year's prolonged strike in the Golan (in protest against the government's insistence that Druze carry Israeli identity cards).

Gavison stated that the government's five-week siege of peaceful Druze was a "gross violation" of civil liberties of the Druze.

Gavison said that so far, there has been no acceptable or reasonable explanation for the siege and the government's insistence on Druze carrying Israeli ID cards.

### NO WATER

RAMALLAH — Residents of Bani Zeid near Ramallah have been left high and dry for over 10 days now. Residents say their taps have been turned off since the middle of August. They said that when they complained to the water department in Ramallah, they were told there was "not enough water to go around."

### LEAGUE BITTEN

JERUSALEM — *Al Mira*, a newspaper put out by the Village Leagues, has folded. They stopped publishing following the decision of the 'civil administration' to stop funding it.

**The Dabboyya building in Hebron, confiscated by Israeli authorities in April 1980, is now undergoing reconstruction as part of plans to settle more Israeli settlers in the centre of the city /JN**

### SOLIDARITY

NAZARETH — The Nazareth Progressive Movement of Nazareth has obtained a licence to publish a new magazine, *Al Tadâmon* (Solidarity). The movement broke away from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality three years ago and intends to put up lawyer Kamel Thaher, a former deputy to mayor Tawfiq Zayyad, in the forthcoming municipal elections.

### PRISONERS ABUSED

HEBRON — The lives of a number of West Bank prisoners detained in the Hebron jail will be in danger unless they receive immeditate medical attention, families say.

Ibrahim Khalil is suffering from serious illnesses affecting his liver and stomach, and Ayman Abu Atiyeh is complaining of acute pain in his back and joints.

The prisoners say their movements are being restricted and they are being denied basic necessities. Even prison doctors have joined in assaulting the prisoners, they charge. Some of those attacked are Amin Sawti, Hussein Natherand Ziad Awwad.

The prisoners have gone on strike to demand an improvement in their living conditions.

### NEW COMMUNITY COLLEGES

The Jordanian education authorities have given their approval to the establishment of a new community college in Jenin, according to West Bank reports.

Reports said that a delegation comprising Tulkarm's leading educational figures has left for Amman to seek approval for another college in that town.

### NO PHONES

BEIT IKSA — For six months now, the village of Beit Iksa has had no telephone contact with the outside world. Residents say their phone lines have been dead since February. A major Israeli settlement is under construction in the area.

### CLUB ON STRIKE

QALQILIYA — Qalqiliya Sporting Club has decided to end all activities, following the refusal of the Israeli club inspector to ratify its administrative board.

### SENTENCE

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military court sentenced Mohammed al-Sheikh Rouhy, from the village of Yamoun, to two months in prison for having ignored a summons to appear for interrogation. The court also gave him a four-month suspended sentence.

### HOUSE ARREST

JERUSALEM — The Israeli authorities have placed Abdullah Barakat, a student at Bethlehem University, under six months house arrest. The authorities also raided the house of student Radi Hashem Zeid, in Jenin, on the pretext of looking for banned publications.

**September 2, 1983**

### SHOPS DEMOLISHED

RAFAH — The Israeli authorities demolished 10 grocery stores in Rafah without giving prior notice to their owners or allowing them opportunity to vacate the premises.

The municipality claimed the Israelis took this action as part of its plans to rezone the central market, and refused to consider paying the shopowners any compensation.

### GALILEE FIRES

NAZARETH — Israeli firemen, backed by helicopters, fought for several hours to bring two huge fires in the Galilee under control.

Reports said the fires broke out in farmland attached to Israeli settlements Kfar Shammai and Har Meron, and extended over 2000 dunums. The fires damaged electric and telephone lines in the region.

### HELLO NABLUS

NABLUS — Residents of Nablus are enjoying their new automatic telephone exchange, which began operating September 1. They had to wait for years, making do with an antiquated 1930 manual PABX which had seen service in Istanbul, Alexandria, Amman and Jerusalem, before it was installed in Nablus in 1965.

The new exchange can accommodate up to 10,000 subscribers, far in excess of the 4000 currently registered.

In Bethlehem, meanwhile, residents are finding it almost impossible to call numbers in Jerusalem, particularly in the mornings.

**September 3, 1983**

### CURFEW IN HEBRON

HEBRON — Israeli military authorities clamped down a total curfew on Hebron, following an explosion near the Dabboyya building.

### OFF THE HOOF

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli military authorities rounded up scores of sheep belonging to the Rashaydeh tribe inhabiting the Hassasseh region, near Bethlehem. The authorities are holding the sheep for a JD4 ransom.

### BISHOP GETS KINGED

AMMAN — King Hussein of Jordan has bestowed the Medal of Independence, First Class, upon the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, Bishop Fayek Haddad, in recognition of his services and endeavours.

### CITRUS INTO MEAT

GAZA — Gaza's agriculture directorate has signed a deal with Yugoslavia to export a given quota of citrus products to Yugoslavia in return for 5000 head of cattle.

## WATERLESS

SUR BAHER - The village of Sur Baher, on the old Jerusalem-Bethlehem road, has been without water for over five months, and despite repeated appeals to the authorities no action has been taken *Al Quds* newspaper reports.

**September 4, 1983**

## SABRA – SHATILA

AMMAN – On the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacre, the Jordanian government issued stamps to commemorate the slaughter and most of the 1.5 million stamps have already been sold.

Reports said European buyers showed an avid interest in the new issue.

## NO YES MEN

JERUSALEM – The 'civil administration' has come to the conclusion that most of the mayors or heads of local councils it has appointed will refuse to accept their nomination to the posts.

During the past few weeks the 'civil administration' has tried to find suitable candidates to head local Arab councils and to persuade them to collaborate with them.

## ID

JERUSALEM – Muslim religious and national institutions have announced that the Id al-Adha festivities later this month will be restricted to religious ceremonies.

There will be no popular celebrations, and cinemas and places of entertainment will be closed down in mourning on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila camp massacres.

## STRIKE

NAZARETH – The Committee Against the War in Lebanon and for Israeli-Palestinian Peace has called on Arabs in Israel to stage a general strike September 18 and attend a national regional congress in Nazareth on the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

The committee placed direct responsibility for the massacre on the Israeli government.

## BRIDGE HOLIDAYS

JERICHO – The Damia and Allenby bridges will be closed for eight days this month by the Israeli occupation authorities and by Jordan on the occasions of the Jewish New Year and the Muslim Id al-Adha.

The bridges will be closed before noon September 7 to September 11; and will be reopened Sunday morning.

They will also be closed from September 21-22; and September 28-29.

## PRC IN JORDAN

AMMAN – Sabri Jiryis, head of the Palestine Research Centre, has arrived in Amman to help set up the centre's new headquarters in the Jordanian capital.

The Jordanian authorities approved the transfer of the centre from Beirut, where the Lebanese government had ordered it closed down, and after several successful sabotage attempts on the building that resulted in heavy loss of life.

Jiryis had been arrested by the Lebanese authorities following the closure, but was later released.

**September 5, 1983**

## STUDENTS STRIKE TOO

NAZARETH – The Secretariat of the Regional committee of Secondary Arab students supported the general strike call on September 18 in commemoration of the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

## DEATH

JERUSALEM – A 25-year-old third-year student at al-Najah University, Yusef Sadeq Idkedek, died when an explosive device blew up in Beit Jala. His body was discovered August 28.

Police found several other explosive devices in the area which were subsequently de-activated.

## STUDENTS MOVED

GAZA – The Israeli education office in Gaza ordered the transfer of some 400 students and teachers from their school in Jabaliya to another school in Beit Hanoun 5 kilometres away from their camp.

Students say the added transportation costs are a heavy burden on their families.

## WATER PIPES

ANABTA – The village council of Ramin, in the West Bank, completed repair and maintenance work on the village water pipelines damaged recently by unidentified vandals.

## COLLEGE

RAMALLAH – The Israeli education office for the West Bank granted a request to re-open the women's teacher's training college in Ramallah. The college is the only government-run teacher's training facility in the West Bank.

**September 6, 1983**

## ANNEXATION

JERUSALEM – Deputy Agriculture Minister Michael Dekel stated that his ministry will proceed with its settlement drive in the occupied territories, and that the intention is to eliminate the 'green line' completely.

Palestinian art exhibit held this week at the Hilal club in Jerusalem /JN

## NURSERY

HEBRON – Residents of the village of Beit Ummar, in the Hebron district, have launched a drive to set up a children's nursery for pre-schoolers. Residents called on charitable societies, the Red Crescent and the Department of Social Affairs for help.

## SCHOOLS

JERUSALEM – Residents and mukhtars in Silwan lodged a protest with the Jerusalem municipality, complaining against the current practice of double school shifts, because of lack of classrooms.

## NO SPARE CLASSES

NAZARETH – The local council of the village of Reineh, in the Nazareth district, has had to rent 22 rooms to house the overflow of school children this year. Council members say the rooms are unsuitable as classrooms, but were the only ones available.

Reports said the residents of the village intend to stage a strike soon if the problem is not solved.

## TO COURT

JERUSALEM – *Al Shira'* magazine has submitted a petition to the Supreme Court of Israel against the closure decision against it. It noted that during the entire period of its publication, its editors had been called in for interrogation only once – when the front page came out in the four colours which represent the Palestinian flag.

A panel of Israeli judges is expected to look into the petition. The session will be attended by the government's legal advisor.

## BANNING ROUSES MAPAM

JERUSALEM – Latif Dury, coordinator of the united labour movement in Mapam, denounced the Israeli government's move to suspend the *Al Shira'* magazine.

Dury said in a letter to the journal's editorial board that he condemned such a measure and that it represented a new round of national persecution against the residents of the occupied territories.

## DETROIT–HEBRON LINK

HEBRON – Michigan's Detroit University decided to extend accreditation to the Hebron Polytechnic, following a survey and study of the courses offered and the systems adopted by the Arab college.

Polytechnic director Mahmoud Hassan Al Qawasmeh said he had received a letter from the US university announcing its decision. The university said it would now recognise the diplomas awarded by the Polytechnic and accept any Polytechnic graduate who had attained the requisite marks.

## DOCUMENTS

JERUSALEM – The Arab Studies Centre in Jerusalem released a second volume of official and semi-official documents, including some personal papers, relating to the history of Palestine during the British Mandate.

The papers are being published for the first time. The classification work was undertaken by Dr Suleiman Bashir.

Some of the papers released are copies of documents retained in British colonial files in London, and Israeli and Zionist archives in Jerusalem.

The initial volume was issued two years ago.

## TURN-OVER

YA'ABAD – Three members of the local council of Ya'abad resigned. They are Khaled Harzallah al-Bahr, Salim Abu Bakr and Tawfiq Yusef.

The Israeli authorities appointed replacements for them: Abed Anis Riman, Fathi Hureis and Mohammed Al Mithani.

## REWARDS

RAMALLAH – Shlomo Elia, head of the 'civil administration', granted a request submitted by the Arab Chambers of Commerce in the West Bank for permission to bring in checks from Amman.

Elia said he agreed to eliminate the need to have exit permits stamped. He also compromised on having the three percent levy on imported raw materials cancelled.

The question of permission to build houses outside town limits is still under discussion. Elia also promised to take up the question of the rise in the price of bread and the Israeli monopoly on the import of frozen meat.

Elia said he would consult with security authorities regarding the case of travellers being summarily turned back from the crossing points.

## POLITICAL PUNISHMENT

LYDDA – Israeli security officials subjected Majed Abu Yunis, a member of the Central Committee of Communist Youth of Sakhnin, to a provocative search at Lydda airport. The officials confiscated anti-war material and peace posters.

Abu Yunis was on his way to Athens to attend the annual conference of Greek Communist Youth.

When Doron Felner and Tally Zahavi, members of the Secretariat of the Communist Youth Federation, protested, the police confiscated their identity cards.

## ASSAULT IN ACRE

ACRE – Israeli police and naval cadets in Acre assaulted a group of Arabs in the city's old quarter, following a minor altercation.

# THE AWALI RIVER AND THE ZIONIST DREAM

Bulldozers make way for the army's new line along the Awali River.

by Gidon Biegan

Recently we were told of the decision to redeploy Israeli forces along the Awali River in Lebanon. Without discussing the strategic significance of this line, Hafez al-Assad, president of Syria, rushed to claim that the redeployment is based on an old Zionist plan. According to his claim, the Zionist movement aspired for more than 60 years to extend the northern border of the Jewish state to the Awali River and now Israel is achieving this expansionist dream. Is there a basis for the claim of the Syrian president or is it just groundless?

It appears that there is a historical and geographic basis for his claim.

The northern border of the state of Israel was determined in the framework of the arrangements of creating new political units in the Middle East after World War I. This line was part of the line which separated the British and French controlled areas – a separation which created the mandatory areas of Syria and Lebanon under the French mandate, and Iraq, Transjordan and *Eretz Israel* under the British mandate. The discussions on the determination of the borders were conducted between these two great powers who had different interests. The line was determined after long discussions and arguments on every point.

Besides these two great powers, the Zionist movement took an active part in the struggle to get a more comfortable border for *Eretz Israel*. The active involvement of the Zionist movement was represented in different memoranda, in pressure and influence on different figures from both sides, and in presenting plans for fixing the line of the border. Apparently it is these memoranda which Hafez al-Assad was referring to.

The actual discussions on the determination of the northern border of *Eretz Israel* took place in the peace conference which was held in 1919 in Paris. In that period the Zionist Histadrut showed intensified and consistent activities. The Zionist perspective stipulated the expansion of the border as far north as possible and this is in the framework of creating a new territorial unit - *Eretz Israel* – under British control.

In 1917, an article appeared in the organ of the Zionist-British Conference for the Sake of *Eretz Israel*, *Palestine*, under the title "The Borders of *Eretz Israel*." In this article, the wish to create economic and strategic borders for *Eretz Israel* is expressed, and the northern border which is suggested is "the narrow strip which extends from the north of the southern part of Lebanon in the Beqa'a valley, with the Hermon serving as a block to invaders through the Beqa'a road." It should be remembered that at that time (before and during World War I) the territorial term "Lebanon" meant the autonomous area of Lebanon under the Ottoman rule and the southern border of this area is north of Sidon.

It appears that the publication of the article depended on a memorandum which the engineer Shmuel Tolkoviski (the father of the former air force commander, Dan Tolkoviski) prepared in 1915, and which was published in 1916. According to his proposal, the northern border of *Eretz Israel* must be "north of the first five kilometres of the upper part of the Awali River, and from there a straight line to the southeast to the southern point of Mount Lebanon and Mount Hermon." Here, for the first time, the Awali River was mentioned, and as was proved, this proposal is based, like others, on sound knowledge of the area.

These memoranda were known to the Zionist administration which demanded from Tolkoviski, in December 1918, a memorandum confirming Zionist demands "for a border adjoining the southern border of the autonomous province of Lebanon to a point on latitude 33 degrees 45 minutes (the town Zabadni is today in Syria, northeast of Damascus).

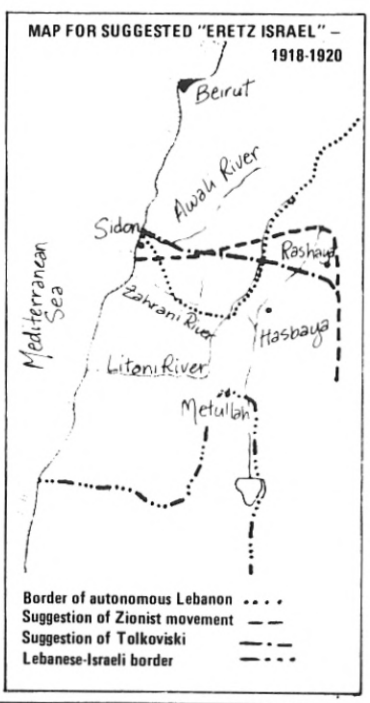
The Zionist administration also approached Aharon Aronson, the agricultural expert who had good relations with the British intelligence and military people, and asked him to prepare a second memorandum on this subject. The Aronson and Tolkoviski memoranda deffered mainly on explanations, not on the proposals themselves. While Aronson focused attention on the agricultural development and the use of the water of the Litani and Jordan rivers for irrigation, Tolkoviski concentrated on the subject of the strategic borders for defence and settlement purposes. According to him, the Muslim population in the area was large and it did not want to be annexed to Christian Lebanon. The line which was suggested by Tolkoviski was a line which started from a point in the sea north of Sidon and along the southern border of the autonomous Lebanon to a point on the latitude line 33 degrees 38 minutes to the north. The Aronson line started from a point in south Sidon and reaches a point 33 degrees 30 minutes to the northeast (east of Rashaya, which is in Lebanon today).

Apart from these two memoranda, Haim Margalit Klavriski also prepared a memorandum in which he demanded the inclusion of the city of Sidon and its area in *Eretz Israel*. According to him, the border of the autonomous area of Lebanon, which was determined in 1861, passes along the Awali River and this is the border of *Eretz Israel*.

In support of his claim, he said that the Muslims of the area would prefer to have relations with the Muslims of *Eretz Israel* and not with the Christians of Lebanon. He also claimed that Sidon served as an *Eretz Israel* port. And, in his opinion, the disconnection of the port from its internal economic entity would bring about a complete paralysis because Mount Lebanon imports and exports through Beirut.

All these memoranda were the basis of the Zionist demand as it was presented on February 3, 1919 to the Peace Conference. The northern border in the Zionist demand "starts at a point in the Mediterranean near and south of Sidon and follows the watershed of the heights of Mount Lebanon until the Qura'on bridge. From there the line continues along the line separating the basins of Qura'on valley from Tin valley."

Apparently the Zionist movement did not approve of the demand to include Sidon within the borders of *Eretz Israel* and did not tend to base its demands on this or that line in the near or the remote past (the autonomous line of Lebanon). The central explanation for marking the line was "the necessity to take into account the economic interests of the country" and deciding the line in the north was explained by saying that "*Eretz Israel*, like any other country in the continent, is connected with the best possible water supply and therefore there is a great importance not only to ensure all the water resources which are now feeding the country but to have the ability to keep and supervise them at the source. Mount Hermon is the main water resource for *Eretz Israel* and it cannot be disconnected from it without harming the basic roots of the economy of the country."




The Zionist movement adhered to this line and up to the signing of the second border agreement on December 23, 1923 did not back down. The leaders of the Zionist movement made this demand openly and they did their best to achieve it.

Missions were sent to the Arab world to meet King Faysal and demands were also presented to the French president and his assistants. Consistent pressure was exercised on the British regime, on the foreign ministry, the political leadership and other figures, either by memoranda, meetings or by pressure through the news media. The Zionists of the United States, headed by Judge Brandeis of the Supreme Court, were recruited into the battle in order to influence the president of the United States of America to support the line.

At one stage, the demanded line was even extended northward to latitude 33 degrees 37 minutes, about four kilometres north of the Qura'on bridge, which was mentioned in the first demand.

The activities were extensive and varied but apparently they were unproductive. The Zionist movement was forced to receive dictation which was achieved with French-British agreement, determining the border.

This sprang from the simple fact that despite the massive pressure exerted by the Zionist administration, the whole subject was finally in the hands of the British and French governments and influenced by the internal calculation of each side. It was these factors which determined the line. For a long time, the British used Zionist explanations and eventually the Zionists believed in the pressure they exerted, a pressure which was unproductive. The line, which finally determined the current borders between the state of Israel and Lebanon, is completely different from the original Zionist demand.

It seems that from the president of Syria's point of view there is substance to his suspicions. In the first stages of the process of determining the borders of *Eretz Israel*, the Zionist movement aspired in fact to reach the area of the Awali River and it even raised many justifications for this demand. In the official proposal, perhaps, the line was moved a bit south, but also in this way the line was intended to include most of the area of South Lebanon within the borders of *Eretz Israel*. We, as is understood, cannot conclude from this that there were imperialist plans for the Jewish world, as is frequently portrayed, because the demand for the border line was raised in the framework of the demands of the British empire, which was supposed to control the area of *Eretz Israel*, and because in order to expand there should be an outlet there, and this did not exist at all when the proposals were raised. These proposals can be viewed in the framework of diplomatic negotiations, in which each side presents maximal demands at the beginning of the discussion. Despite this, there is a basis for the claim that there were historical expansionist aspirations for the state of Israel. (Translation HaAretz, August 23, 1983).